Pacific School of
Religion
Berkeley, Calif.

"The vitality of a religious movement is not to be sustained by detachment from its past. The serviceable man knows how to use acquired momentum and how to safeguard the gains of the patient generations."

HERALDS OF A LIBERAL FAITH

Edited by SAMUEL A. ELIOT

Vol. I. The Prophets **Vol. II. The Pioneers**

Vol. III. The Preachers

The student of the Unitarian movement can find in these volumes the whole story of its origin and development told in the form of biography. These books are an unparalleled storehouse of information, anecdote, and inspiration to all who are interested in the motives and achievements of the Unitarian Cause, and in the personalities of the men who have been its leaders.

The volumes contain biographical sketches of three hundred of the leading ministers of the Unitarian fellowship in America between the years 1750 and 1900. Of these biographies about one-third are reproduced from the similar sketches in Sprague's "Annals of the Unitarian Pulpit." This famous book closed with the year 1855, and has long been out of print. The present volumes set forth anew all that is most significant in the older book, fill out the incomplete accounts, and bring the record down to the year 1900. Bibliographical notes are appended to each sketch, and an index to all three volumes will be found in Volume I.

"The master architects are gone but they have left their incomplete designs on the draughting board and we must study them if we are rightly to build the temples of religious freedom."

"To know the heart of an event we must see it revealed in the hopes and endeavors of individuals. The truth that makes men free is the truth proclaimed by free men. Personality is the impulse and the interpretation of religious history."

HERALDS OF A LIBERAL FAITH

Vol. I. The Prophets

The first volume covers the Period of Protest and describes the careers of the prophets of the Unitarian movement during the last half of the eighteenth century. It sets forth the beginnings of Unitarianism in America in the work of men like Mayhew, Gay, Chauncey, Bentley, Priestley, Abbot, Pierce, Ripley and Worcester.

The editor's purpose has been, not only to call to remembrance the half-forgotten careers of notable men, but also to illustrate by personal memoirs the origin and development of the liberal movement in the New England churches. From the character of these typical leaders the motives and purposes of the Unitarian movement can be rightly forseen and judged.

These men, and their contemporaries, were true prophets not only of theological change and progress, but also of the new ideals of patriotism, of education, of scholarship, of public spirit. They were forerunners, heralds of new things, staunch adherents of American independency alike in church and state, originators in many useful institutions which perpetuate their memories. They revealed the thoughts and hopes that were latent in the best minds and hearts of their generation. Their influence was like a change of climate or the coming of spring after a winter of austere theology and political oppression.

"Whatever may be the final influence of these prophets, pioneers and preachers, it is certain that men of purer lives or nobler spirit never transmuted religious inspiration from one generation to another."

"These are men who refused to believe that God has exhausted his creative energies, and who gave themselves to quickening the primal impulses by which character is moulded and the truth perfected and life made more abundant."

HERALDS OF A LIBERAL FAITH

Vol. II. The Pioneers

The second volume covers the Period of Controversy and Organization which roughly synchronizes with the first half of the nineteenth century. It follows the careers of such pioneers as Freeman, Bancroft, Buckminster, Channing, Kirkland, Kendall, Nichols, Norton, Gilman, Judd, Tuckerman, Pierpont, Walker, Willard, and Ware and their contemporaries through the experiences of the Unitarian Controversy and the beginnings of the organized life of the Unitarian movement in America.

The pioneers here commemorated were men who strove to rationalize and simplify theology, to reaffirm the fundamental teaching of the Gospels, and to turn from outward authorities in matters of faith to inward witnesses. The argued the spirit of the Bible against the letter, the Unity of God against the Trinity, and the impulses of love and good will against the compulsions of fear. They were heralds of the unceasing revelation, the present life of God in the present life of men. They appealed to men to be religious not with the old arguments of self-reproach, but with the arguments of self-respect. They found in human nature, in the imperatives of conscience, in the revelations of reason, in the sentiments of reverence and awe, the witnesses of a divine origin and an open way to an immortal fellowship.

"These were men who dared after the way called heresy to worship the God of their fathers; men whose means were freedom and truth, whose ends were brotherhood, righteousness and unity."

"It is power and patience to us to remember that our own efforts for truth and freedom take place in no lonely arena. There is good background for our endeavor. Behind us and about us stretches the cloud of noble witnesses."

HERALDS OF A LIBERAL FAITH

Vol. III. The Preachers

The third volume deals with the years 1850 to 1900, a period of Church Extension and Spiritual Affirmation. The lives of men like Bellows, Bartol, Clarke, Dewey, Starr King, Hedge, Eliot, Everett, Parker, Foote, Furness, Gannett, Hall, Hill, May, Potter, Reynolds, Peabody, Longfellow, Stebbins, Sears, Stearns, Robbins, Ware and Willson, illustrate the diffusion of Unitarianism and the progressive changes of thought and life within the Unitarian body itself.

The biographical sketches have been written and contributed to this volume by ministers and laymen of the succeeding generation like Chadwick, Gannett, Peabody, Higginson, Frothingham, DeNormandie, Crothers, Garver, Slicer, Fenn, and many others.

The preachers thus remembered were men of rich and varied gifts and their memories are enshrined, not only in the churches and institutions they served, but also in the minds and hearts of a generation which was moulded by their influence and inspired by their examples. They accomplised much for the spiritualizing of Christian teaching; they contributed new interpretations of Biblical literature; they upbuilt great institutions of education and of philanthropy; they did their part in establishing the rule righteousness in American life; they inspired public spirit.

"It is for us to determine whether these names shall abide among the immortals. It is for us to perpetuate their principles and to pursue the ideals they set before us."

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HERALDS OF A LIBERAL FAITH

The Prophets

HERALDS OF A LIBERAL FAITH

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

SAMUEL A. ELIOT

I

The Prophets

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1962

BOSTON
AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION
1910

Pacific School of Religion
Berkeley, Calif.

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INTRODUCTION

Phillips Brooks once said that the power of a life—and he meant the life of an institution as well as that of an individual—can be justly measured by the union and proportion of its sense of continuity and its sense of new beginning. The life of a movement of religious thought and experience should find inspiration in its honorable traditions, and at the same time it ought to be always capable of new adventures.

If I may borrow a figure, let it be that of a mountain stream or torrent. It is one and the same stream from its highland source to its expanded power in the sea, and yet it is different in every mile of its flow from what it is in every other mile. It turns sharp corners in unexpected ways. Now it is calm and sluggish, and again it is vexed with rapids. Now it gathers itself into a pool so still that all movement seems to have ceased, and then with a new cascade is recreated. It knows the exhilaration of mingled continuity and new beginning.

A significant religious movement must thus cherish the good that the past has had, and at the same time welcome the infusion of new methods and measures. It must blend the new and the old in just proportion, and join to the steadfastness of good habit the joy of fresh experiment. It must unite the maturity of age with the elasticity of youth. It must at once conserve and create.

Unless we know something about the beginning

and direction of any movement of human thought or life, we cannot have any true vision of its future. The serviceable man knows how to use acquired momentum and how to safeguard the gains of the patient generations. He understands that the vitality of an institution is not to be sustained by detachment from its past. The master architects are gone, but they have left their incomplete designs on the draughting board, and we must study them if we are to rightly build the temples of religious freedom.

The great movements of men almost invariably begin with an individual. Even when a form of thought is held by a considerable number of people, it is necessary for an individual to give the common sentiment public utterance and to transform feeling into action. Of scientific knowledge we may perhaps affirm that truth is independent of the character of its messengers, but in moral and spiritual concerns such detachment is impossible. The truth is inseparable from the person. The truth that makes men free is the truth proclaimed by free men. Personality is thus the impulse and the interpretation of religious history.

To study biography is, therefore, "to read history from the vital point of view." It is to see historical movements through the eyes of the men who originated and conducted these movements. "There is properly no history," said Emerson, "only biography." Each separate field of human effort becomes vivid as we see it through the experience of men who have there suffered and won. Thus history becomes living to many who find no interest in the abstract annals.

It is further good for us in these days, when the emphasis is laid upon the power of organization, to recall the important contributions to human progress made by individual leaders. It gives us increased self-respect and helps us to believe that we may, in our turn and in the measure of our strength, have some genuine service to perform for our fellow-men. We find our own resolutions and ideals reinvigorated, our horizons broadened, our intentions realized. It is power and patience to us to remember that our efforts for the spread of truth and freedom take place in no lonely arena. There is good background for our endeavor. Behind us and about us stretches the cloud of noble witnesses.

These are the motives which, in addition to my inborn interest in the work and life of the men who in all generations have wrought for truth and freedom, have impelled me to devote the rare pauses in an experience crowded with a great variety of cares and obligations to the compilation of the biographical sketches contained in these volumes. I have felt that I could not better testify to my devotion to my own calling and to the traditions of the Christian fellowship which I happily serve than by planning and carrying through such a work. The task of gathering, sifting, and arranging for publication the over-abundant material has been the avocation of ten years. It has involved the pursuit of many devious and overgrown trails, the joy of unexpected discoveries, and the co-operation of many friends whose tastes and employments have qualified them for expert knowledge in historical, genealogical, and bibliographical researches.

I cannot claim to be a pioneer in these fields of delightful study. The majority of the subjects of these sketches were men of marked distinction in their generation. In many instances, therefore, their lives have been adequately written, and their careers described in enduring form. They were, too, men who built their lives into the most indestructible of human institutions,—the Christian Church,—and the story of their experiences is thus interwoven with the history of the churches they honorably served. Further, they were pioneers of freedom, and it is to be observed that the people whose names are longest remembered in this world are those who have done something to promote freedom.

Besides the separate and often noteworthy biographies of many of these heralds of a liberal faith, there have been published several excellent books, which by bringing a number of biographies together in a single volume have served to show the common relation of these men to the movements of religious thought and energy which enlisted their allegiance and endeavors. In 1850 the Rev. William Ware published in two volumes, under the title "American Unitarian Biography," accounts by different writers of twenty-four pioneers of religious liberalism in America. In 1868 Dr. Joseph Allen, the patriarch of the Ministerial Association in Worcester County and for fifty-seven years the minister of the Northboro parish, published, under the title "The History of the Worcester Association," the biographical sketches of the past and present members of that Association. Both of these compilations have been of great assistance in the preparation of these volumes. The catalogue of the graduates of the

Harvard Divinity School, with a brief record of their careers, compiled by the Rev. Robert S. Morison, has been invaluable, and a similar catalogue of the Meadville Theological School, though unfortunately still incomplete, has been of service. In Dr. Andrew P. Peabody's "Harvard Reminiscences" (1888) and "Harvard Graduates that I have Known" (1890) I have found a number of charming accounts of Dr. Peabody's ministerial teachers, contemporaries, and friends; while the Rev. O. B. Frothingham's "Boston Unitarianism" (1890) and "Recollections and Impressions" (1891) abound in graphic pictures of the ministers of his own and his father's generations. The biographical sketches in Dr. A. P. Putnam's "Singers and Songs of a Liberal Faith" (1875) have been helpful, and the obituary notices in the *Christian Register*, the *Monthly Journal of the American Unitarian Association*, and the *Christian Examiner* have sometimes revealed forgotten facts or verified obscure details.

The most famous and important of the biographical compilations is "The Annals of the Unitarian Pulpit," collected by Dr. William B. Sprague and published in 1864. This noteworthy book, now long out of print, but still to be found in many public and private libraries, was the eighth volume of Dr. Sprague's monumental series of similar biographical studies. This series began in 1857, and consisted of "commemorative notices of distinguished American clergymen from the settlement of the country to the close of the year 1855." Ten different denominations were represented in the series, and many eminent people contributed the biographical sketches.

Dr. Sprague was a man of mark in his generation. He was born in Andover, Conn., October 16, 1795, the son of Benjamin Sprague, a farmer. After graduating at Yale in 1815, he studied two years at Princeton Theological Seminary, and in 1819 was ordained pastor of the First Congregational Church in West Springfield, Mass., as a colleague of the Rev. Joseph Lathrop, D.D. He remained there until 1829, when he was installed as pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Albany, N.Y. He held this charge till 1869, when he resigned and moved to Flushing, where he died May 7, 1876. He received the degree of S.T.D. from Columbia in 1828 and from Harvard in 1848, and the degree of LL.D. from Princeton in 1869. He was the author of a score of books and more than a hundred published sermons, memoirs, and addresses, and his collection of autographs was probably the largest in the world.

Dr. Sprague brought to the compilation of the Annals not only his antiquarian taste and literary facility, but also a singularly impartial spirit, a magnanimous temper, and unwearied patience and perseverance. The Annals are a rich storehouse of fact and anecdote and a monument to the industry, discriminating taste, and genuine catholicity of their editor.

The heirs of Dr. Sprague have been kind enough to give me permission to use any or all of the material in the Annals, and the first volume of the present series may be regarded, in no small degree, as a new edition of Dr. Sprague's invaluable book. I have followed his general plan, incorporated the results of his prolonged researches, and endeavored to carry on his general method through another

generation. The Annals closed with the year 1855. The present volumes set forth anew all that is most significant in the earlier book, fill out the incomplete accounts, and bring the record down to the year 1900.

My first volume commemorates the "Prophets" of Unitarianism in America, and contains biographies of sixty-nine ministers, whose period of activity was, in general terms, from 1750 to 1825. Of these sixty-nine sketches, forty-five are based upon the biographies in the Annals and ten upon Dr. Sprague's Notes, while fourteen are biographies of men not mentioned in the Annals either because they were still living at the time Dr. Sprague concluded his labors or because their real significance had not then been realized. The second volume contains sketches of ninety-eight ministers, whose period of activity was the first half of the Nineteenth Century, and who are thus fitly described as the "Pioneers." Of these ninety-eight sketches, thirty-six are based upon the biographies in the Annals and thirteen upon the notes in that book, while forty-nine are new. The third volume contains sketches of one hundred and thirty-four "Preachers," whose period of activity was the last half of the Nineteenth Century. Some of these sketches have been adapted by the editor from published memoirs, but most of them have been written for this volume by friends and comrades who have honored me with their co-operation and whose contributions are often as pleasantly characteristic of the writers as of the subjects. These co-operating friends, whose names will be found in the Table of Contents, have, as a rule, accompanied their articles with the suggestion that I make such modifica-

tions as would fit their contributions to the places which they were designed to fill. In several instances I have availed myself of this kind permission by omitting facts elsewhere sufficiently recorded and avoiding repetition.

In the three volumes of the present series there are thus three hundred and one sketches, of which eighty-one are primarily derived from the Annals, twenty-three from Dr. Sprague's Notes, and one hundred and ninety-four from more recent and independent sources. To each biographical sketch there is appended a bibliographical list. These lists cannot be regarded as complete or exhaustive, but they are, at least, indicative of the remarkable variety and extent of the intellectual interests of these broad-minded ministers, and they reveal the close connection of the Unitarian movement with the development of American literature. A subject index to all three volumes will be found in Volume I.

It is to be regretted that the limitations of space have required me to give such brief accounts of men whose thoughts and characters deeply influenced their own and succeeding generations. It has sometimes been necessary to abridge the original sketches in the Annals. I trust, however, that the peculiar flavor of the older book has not been lost in the condensation. The Annals are distinguished by the leisurely and dignified literary style characteristic of the first half of the last century. They have a charm of detail, an anecdotal quality, and a naïve assumption of the pre-eminence of the ministerial calling which I have endeavored to preserve.

I have also tried to follow Dr. Sprague's example and, while making the plan and method

of the books my own, to refrain from coloring events or judgments with my own opinions or prejudices. The only trace of my personal preferences that I discover in the successive memoirs is a tendency to emphasize the practical rather than the speculative aspects of a man's career. I appreciate that the watchful eyes and sensitive hearts of descendants and friends will study these memorials. I have, therefore, striven for accuracy even at the cost of picturesqueness, and I have tried to avoid excessive eulogies and injudicious comparisons. By closing the record with the year 1900, I have endeavored to escape the contagion of contemporaneous praise.

It has not seemed desirable to give to these volumes the character of a mere biographical dictionary. Many honored names which might have found place in this record have been omitted because my purpose has been not only to call to remembrance the half-forgotten careers of notable men, but also to illustrate by personal memoirs the origin and development of the movement in the Christian Church toward the more spiritual interpretation of Christian truth and the closer application of truth to life. I have tried to select types more than to present a complete survey. From the character of these selected standard-bearers, the motives and purposes of the movement they led may be rightly judged.

I have not been unaware of the fact that there have been and are many heralds of liberalism outside of the body of Christians known as Unitarians. It has, however, seemed to me wise to confine my present endeavor to the limits of the Unitarian fellowship. The title indicates that the books describe the Heralds of *a* Liberal Faith,

and not of *the* Liberal Faith. I have adopted this course with greater confidence because in 1900 I edited a volume of biographical lectures under the title of "Pioneers of Religious Liberty," which bears testimony to the separate origins of liberalism in America and to my appreciation of the work of pioneers like Roger Williams, Thomas Hooker, William Penn, Horace Bushnell, Hosea Ballou, and Phillips Brooks.

It may also perhaps be asked why I have included only the names of ministers. The Unitarian movement has owed quite as much to the distinguished laymen who have given it their support and allegiance as to its clerical advocates. I can only reply that I hope, in the course of time, to supply this omission and to prepare a similar series describing the character and careers of typical men and women who, in secular life, have illustrated the worth of liberal principles in religion. A book compiled and published in 1908 entitled "Sons of the Puritans" is an earnest of this cherished purpose.

Many judicial minds, unforgetting hearts, and willing hands have contributed to the making of these volumes. In the acknowledgments contained in his preface, written in 1864, Dr. Sprague made special mention of his obligations to Dr. Andrew P. Peabody "not only for numerous letters of personal recollections, but for a multitude of facts and dates pertaining to the history of many of my subjects," to Dr. Abiel Abbot, who had been Dr. Sprague's tutor at Coventry, "my early and revered instructor," to Dr. John Pierce, "whose memory was a vast depository of biographical material," to Dr. Charles Lowell, and

to Dr. Samuel Gilman, from whom his applications for aid "always met a cordial and satisfactory response." Dr. Peabody contributed to the Unitarian volume of the Annals no less than nine articles and letters, Dr. Pierce wrote eight, and Dr. Lowell and Dr. Abbot each five. Among the other frequent contributors to the Annals were Miss Elizabeth P. Peabody with seven articles, Dr. Samuel Willard with five, the Rev. Joseph Allen with four, the Rev. Nathaniel Whitman, the Rev. Ephraim Abbot, and Miss Margaret T. Emery. A number of distinguished laymen responded to Dr. Sprague's requests for assistance, and their contributions are availed of in the present volumes. Hon. Josiah Quincy, Hon. Solomon Lincoln, and Ralph Waldo Emerson were represented by two letters each, and other contributors were Hon. George Bancroft, Hon. Edward Everett, Hon. George S. Boutwell, Dr. George B. Emerson, Thomas Bulfinch, Esq., Hugh Bellas, Esq., William Wells, Esq., Henry T. Tuckerman, Esq., Hon. Levi Lincoln, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, and Dr. John C. Warren. Among the ministers who wrote for the Annals besides those already mentioned were Dr. Cyrus A. Bartol, Dr. Henry W. Bellows, Rev. Charles H. Brigham, Dr. James Freeman Clarke, Dr. Jaazaniah Crosby, Dr. Orville Dewey, Dr. Frederick A. Farley, Dr. Convers Francis, Dr. Nathaniel L. Frothingham, Dr. Edward B. Hall, Rev. Nathaniel Hall, Dr. Frederic H. Hedge, Dr. George W. Hosmer, Dr. James Kendall, Dr. Alvan Lamson, Dr. Levi W. Leonard, Rev. Calvin Lincoln, Rev. Samuel J. May, Dr. John H. Morison, Professor Andrews Norton, Dr. Samuel Osgood, Dr. Ephraim Peabody, Dr. George Putnam, Rev. Charles W. Upham, Dr. James Walker,

Dr. Alexander Young. All of the ministers who wrote articles for the Annals are in turn commemorated in the present volumes, the new generation rendering to the "Preachers" the tribute which the "Preachers" had given to the "Prophets" and "Pioneers." Without unduly straining the imagination, one may foresee that the completion of each new half-century may hereafter witness successive volumes bearing similar testimony to the character and achievements of each new generation.

In my own editorial work I have enjoyed the counsel and co-operation of honored veterans and colleagues of the Unitarian ministry whose acquaintance with the older generation was both extensive and discriminating. Dr. Edward Everett Hale scrutinized the proposed table of contents many times, made innumerable suggestions, pointed out the way in many difficult researches, and refreshed the antiquarian labors of the editor with racy anecdotes or with reminiscences which sometimes defied verification. My dear friend, the Rev. John White Chadwick, cheerfully rendered a similar service, and from his wide reading and inexhaustible stores of biographical knowledge contributed much useful information. To Dr. Alfred P. Putnam, Dr. Joshua Young, and the Rev. Thomas Dawes I am indebted for careful revision of my plans. Their unique knowledge of the ministers of their own and the earlier generations was always generously at my disposal. Dr. Robert Collyer and the Rev. Rush R. Shippen have aided me with fertile comments, and have been able, when I was blindly searching for forgotten facts, to show "the way where the light dwelleth." For the indexing and proof-reading,

and for many suggestions arising from these labors, I am indebted to the Rev. Arthur A. Brooks, to Miss Helen F. Pettes, and to my colleagues in the Publication Department of the American Unitarian Association.

There are various ways, besides the study of individual careers and the revival of noble memories, in which these volumes can be used. One might, for instance, through these memoirs trace the indebtedness of American liberalism to English dissent through Priestley and his followers or through the correspondence of the early Boston liberals with the English Unitarians. The principles now called Unitarian had gained strong hold among the English Presbyterians during the first half of the Eighteenth Century. These principles appeared both within and without the Church of England, and the books of Thomas Emlyn, Samuel Clarke, and John Taylor were widely diffused and read. They found peculiar welcome in Eastern Massachusetts because that region, owing to the business connections of its merchants and the acquaintance of its leading ministers, by correspondence at least, with the descendants of the Puritans in the old home, was more susceptible to English thought than Southern and Western New England. Or one might follow the Dutch influences which contributed to the movement, through the associations of the Pilgrim Fathers of Plymouth with Leyden, through the group of Dutch emigrants which at Trenton founded the first Unitarian church in the State of New York, and through the activity of the Huidekoper family in the founding of the Meadville Theological School.

The diverse origins of New England liberalism itself present a field of fascinating study. There was the reaction from the extravagances of the "Great Awakening," which profoundly moved men like Gay and Chauncy. The excesses of the revival brought their own intellectual retribution. The real awakening was yet to come. There was the influence of the democratic ideals which dominated the convictions of Jonathan Mayhew, and the associations with Asiatic religious thought and the broadening ideas brought in with the precious merchandise of foreign commerce which are noteworthy in the history of the Salem churches and which account in no small degree for the liberalism of the Salem ministers. Each of these varied influences, and their combinations, present challenging opportunities of separate research.

Again, it might be interesting to study the eddies of the Unitarian movement, such as the quickly suppressed beginnings of liberalism in Connecticut under Abbot, Sherman, and Willson; or its spontaneous appearances, as in the independent work of Theodore Clapp at New Orleans and Anthony Forster at Charleston; or its diffusion from its New England home in the successful missionary endeavors of May in Syracuse, Hosmer in Buffalo, Peabody in Cincinnati, Clarke in Louisville, Harrington in Chicago, Eliot in St. Louis, Nute at Lawrence, and King and Stebbins in San Francisco. Or one might review the history of some of the historic churches connected with the Unitarian movement. The lives of the successive ministers of such parishes as King's Chapel, the First and Second Churches in Boston, Arlington Street Church, the West Church, the churches

in Salem, Providence, Portland, Bangor, New Bedford, Baltimore, Charleston, San Francisco, and many others, illustrate the growth and diffusion of liberal principles in separate localities. Again, it might be interesting to trace the influence of certain family stocks and to note how frequently such family names as Abbot, Adams, Allen, Bellows, Brooks, Channing, Eliot, Emerson, Everett, Frothingham, Hall, Howard, Lincoln, Livermore, May, Parkman, Peabody, Ripley, Stebbins, Thayer, Ware, Whitman, Whitney, and Willard recur in these pages.

The great diversity of the gifts which the men who are commemorated in these volumes represent, itself illustrates the variety of influences which the liberal movement received and in turn brought to bear upon American thought and life. These men, and those they inspired, were leaders in literature, education, statesmanship, and religion. America has known no such succession of great preachers as that which includes the names of Mayhew, Channing, Buckminster, Dewey, Parker, Putnam, and King. The foremost standards of theological scholarship have been borne by Norton, Walker, Hedge, and Carroll Everett. Science has acknowledged the priceless contributions of Priestley and Prince. American letters would be impoverished without the sermon-essays of Emerson and Bartol, the histories of Belknap, Palfrey, Young, Lamson, Sparks, Ellis, and Allen, the romances of William Ware and Sylvester Judd, the biographical studies of John Eliot, Sparks, Frothingham, and Upham, the editorial labors of Noah Worcester and George Ripley, and the poems and hymns of Emerson, Sears, Pierpont, Norton, Peabody, Frothingham, Bulfinch, Lunt,

Livermore, Wasson, Samuel Longfellow, and Samuel Johnson. Philanthropy and the cause of human brotherhood have known no more creative reformers than Channing, Tuckerman, Barnard, and Ballou. The Revolutionary patriotism of Mayhew, Lathrop, and Amos Adams found its legitimate succession in the statesmanship of Edward Everett, the anti-slavery leadership of Parker, Furness, Clarke, and the Mays, the remarkable labors of Bellows, Knapp, and William G. Eliot in the Sanitary Commission, the sacrifices of the army chaplains in the Civil War, and the kindling oratory of John Pierpont and Starr King.

The influence of the scholarly and high-minded men who ruled the old country parishes of New England has never been adequately recognized. Not only did these men stamp their convictions, their habit of mind, their ideals of public service, upon the communities in which they lived, but by the dispersal of the sons of New England all over the Northern States their principles were carried far and wide. Those long and faithful ministries in the New England towns deeply and permanently, though perhaps unconsciously, affected many a community in the Mississippi Valley, among the Rocky Mountains, or on the Pacific Slope.

What an abiding and widely diffused influence was that of Ebenezer Gay and his sixty-eight years of ministry at Hingham, or the forty-five years of John Allyn at Duxbury, the sixty years of Henry Cummings at Billerica, the fifty-two years of John Pierce at Brookline, or the forty-six years of Joseph Osgood at Cohasset! What would have been the life and development of a town like Bel-

fast without the liberalizing ascendancy of William Frothingham, or of Deerfield without the humanizing labors of Samuel Willard? Why have towns like Concord and Lancaster still a distinctive life of their own? Is it not largely because of the direction given to the thought and habit of the community through the long pastorates of Ezra Ripley and Nathaniel Thayer and their successors? How can we compute the widening circles which carry from a small provincial centre into new generations and fresh localities the intellectual and moral power of men like Dr. Leonard of Dublin, or Dr. Crosby of Charlestown, or Dr. Thompson of Barre, or Dr. Nichols of Saco, or Dr. Babbidge of Pepperell? In the larger places, the New England county seats and industrial centres, how profound and lasting was the impression made by men like Dr. Nichols at Portland, Dr. Parker and Dr. Peabody at Portsmouth, Dr. Abbot at Beverly, Dr. Bancroft and Dr. Hill at Worcester, Dr. Kendall at Plymouth, Mr. Potter at New Bedford, and Dr. Hall at Providence! And in a still wider field how remarkably the same kind of enlightening and uplifting influence was exerted by Dr. Cordner at Montreal, Dr. Bellows at New York, Dr. Furness at Philadelphia, Dr. Burnap at Baltimore, Dr. Gilman at Charleston, Dr. Eliot at St. Louis, and Dr. Stebbins at San Francisco!

But, however alluring may be the study of these separate aspects of the liberal movement, the chief interest must still be in the sweep and progress of the main current. The diversities of temperament and experience among the ministers commemorated in these volumes are great and

significant, but they are like the depths and shallows, the rapids and eddies, that diversify the surface of a stream whose underlying flow is strong and sure. Beneath the extraordinary variety of mental and spiritual gifts which characterizes the leaders of the Unitarian movement there is a definite unity. Under the sometimes discordant notes there is a harmony which is almost a monotone of thought and speech. With constantly changing form and phrase these men were all reiterating, illustrating, and applying a single theme. They were all heralds of the unceasing revelation, the present life of God in the present life of men.

In order that the origins and growth of the movement may be clearly recognized, I have set the typographical sketches in the first two volumes in a rough chronological order, and have thus sought to reveal the gradual development of new convictions and ideals. Each volume deals, too, with a reasonably distinct period and describes certain characteristic tendencies and achievements. It is, of course, difficult to set up definite boundaries. The periods overlap, and each contains some of the elements and forces which seem more peculiarly to belong to the others. We are, that is, following a moving stream of thought and life, and not merely measuring the bounds of a "deposit of faith." Moreover, Unitarianism is so essentially a habit of mind and principle of conduct that it cannot be analyzed and defined like a more logical and compact system. Nevertheless, it is not unjustifiable to say that the first volume describes the Period of Protest, which may in general be said to begin with the ordination of Jonathan Mayhew in 1747 and to last

until the election of Henry Ware to the Hollis Professorship of Divinity at Harvard in 1805. The second volume deals with the Period of Controversy and Organization. This period, wherein the progressive leaders are fitly described as Pioneers, may be said to extend from the election of Henry Ware to the organization of the National Unitarian Conference in 1865. The third period I call that of Spiritual Affirmation and Church Extension, and it extends from the organization of the National Conference to the end of the Nineteenth Century.

The first volume covers what I have called the Period of Protest, which roughly coincides with the last half of the Eighteenth Century. The eloquent voice of Jonathan Mayhew and the scholarly writings of Charles Chauncy and the pungent wit of William Bentley assailed traditional errors and evils in right manly and prophetic fashion. They and their contemporaries were true prophets not only of theological change and advance, but also of the new ideals of patriotism, of education, of scholarship, of public spirit. They were forerunners, heralds of new things, stanch adherents of American independency alike in Church and State, originators in many useful institutions which perpetuate their memories. Jeremy Belknap founded the Massachusetts Historical Society, Abiel Abbot started the first Sunday-school, William Bentley first introduced good music into the services of public worship in New England. Dr. Priestley is chiefly remembered as a pioneer of scientific investigation and the discoverer of oxygen. Dr. Prince invented the air-pump and other ingenious mechani-

cal devices. William Wells was an heroic pioneer in the practice of inoculating for smallpox. Henry Colman was the first expert in the modern science of rural economy. Jeremy Belknap drew the first petition for the abolition of the slave trade. Especially in the field of education were these men prophets. Dr. Allyn first practised what we now call "modern" educational methods. The Sangers began our normal-school system. Dr. Sanders was the first president of the University of Vermont, while Drs. Lathrop, Howard, Eliot, Porter, Lowell, Pierce, Parkman, Belknap, Brazer, Popkin, Harris, and many others served on the governing and teaching boards of Harvard College during a period of transformation. Indeed, their theological innovations were the least of the evidences of their progressive spirit. They were not timid about pointing out the errors of revivalism or of the traditional Calvinism, but they loved to emphasize the points of agreement rather than the points of difference. They were willing to make concessions for the sake of the peace of the churches. Jonathan Mayhew was indeed a thorough-going heretic, a modern-minded man, an aggressive Unitarian, but of many of his contemporaries it was characteristic that they protested against a hard and cruel theology more by what they omitted to preach than by what they positively affirmed. They simply ceased to talk about the dogmas that no longer expressed the truth as they had come to apprehend it. What they believed they preached, and what they did not believe they let alone. Thus we read of Dr. Gay that "his discourses will be searched in vain for any discussion of controversial theology," and of his neighbor, Dr. Shute, that his preaching

"was marked by the absence of all controversial topics." Of Dr. John Lathrop we read that the change in his thinking from Calvinism to Unitarianism was so gradual that nobody could say just when it took place. His preaching, too, was "practical rather than doctrinal," and of matters of theological debate he said "little in private and nothing at all in public." Of Dr. Thomas Barnard, of Salem, it was said that "he was catholic in his principles. Though zealous, as far as zeal was useful, in inculcating his own sentiments, he did not wish to impose them on any man. He left others to think for themselves, and entertained none of the peculiarities which poison the sweets of charity." When one said, "Dr. Barnard, I have never heard you preach a sermon on the Trinity," the answer was, "And you never will." When the daughter of Dr. Kendal, of Weston, was asked whether her father was a Calvinist or an Arian, she could not answer. When she expressed her shame at her ignorance to her father, he said: "I am glad that you did not know. I do not want to wear any party label." No more characteristic attitude could be adduced than that of Dr. Harris, of Dorchester, of whom we read that "his course was liberal and pacific. He sought not to make his people learned in the polemics of sects, but rather to present and urge upon them what he believed to be pure and undefiled religion. He had no love of disputation. He studied the things that made for peace. He desired to lead his flock beside the still waters."

Prophets and protestants these men were, but never iconoclasts. Their ideals were constructive. They were self-controlled, and avoided violent speech because they knew that exaggera-

tion is an indication of weakness. They dwelt in temperate zones. They did not deal in criticism or invective. They did not scold or reproach their more conservative brethren. They broadened slowly from precedent to precedent. They fulfilled Goethe's saying: "He who wishes to have a useful influence on his time should insult nothing. Let him not trouble himself about what is absurd, let him concentrate his energy on this,—the bringing to light of good things." Their listeners were treated not as adversaries, not as unsympathetic jurymen who must be persuaded and converted, but as co-operative friends. They did not threaten or try to humiliate their congregations. They conceived that their mission was not to antagonize older forms of faith, but to satisfy in a new way the ineffable longings which those older faiths once satisfied. Instead of directly attacking outgrown ideas, usages, or institutions, they tried to expel error by teaching truth. They desired not to destroy, but to fulfil. The method of destruction fastens instinctively upon the evils in existing conditions, and tries to abolish them by external assault. The method of fulfilment discovers and emphasizes the good in existing conditions, and tries to complete imperfect thought and conduct. We may be sure that the latter is the nobler method because of the nobler powers it employs. It is easy to criticize and denounce, it is easy to abuse society for its superstitions, its conservatism, or its provinciality; but to take the latent generosity of a community or an individual's half-conscious hope of better things and encourage it, to find the elements of good in the meanest emergencies and develop them, to catch the indefinite desires and

ideals of a man or a nation and direct and uplift them,—that is hard and slow. The method of destruction requires a spirit intolerant toward error or falsehood, a keen sense of justice, and a vehement vigor. The method of fulfilment requires sympathy, patience, and hopeful persistence.

The influences and conditions under which the liberal movement developed account for the fact that it was not sudden in its origin or unconnected in its evolution. It grew naturally and inevitably from the seeds of freedom planted by the founders of New England. It was not a secession, but a legitimate growth from the old Puritan stock. The basis of fellowship in the original Massachusetts churches was not static, but progressive. The Pilgrim and Puritan churches in New England were, as a rule, organized without requiring assent to any creed. They were founded on the basis of Covenants in which all that is temporary in religion was omitted and all that is permanent is expressed. These Covenants were written in such a broad spirit that, when the churches became Unitarian in thought and fellowship, they could be retained unchanged. The Pilgrims at Plymouth, in 1620, "as the Lord's Free People joyned themselves into a church estate, in the fellowship of the Gospell, to walke together in all Gods wayes made known or to be made to them, according to their best endeavor, whatever it should cost them." The Covenant of the First Church in Salem (1629) reads: "We covenant with the Lord and with one another, and doe bynd our selves in ye presence of God, to walke together in all his waies, according as he is pleased to reveale himself unto us in his Blessed word of

truth." In the additions of 1636, which follow, the "waies" of practical piety are defined at some length, without the insertion of a single point of controverted doctrine. The First Church in Boston, in 1630, declared, after a brief preamble, as follows: "We . . . do hereby solemnly and religiously promise and bind ourselves to walk in all our ways according to the rule of the gospel, and in all sincere conformity to (Christ's) holy ordinances, and in mutual love and respect each to other, so near as God shall give us grace." It was inevitable that churches thus organized should develop in doctrinal freedom, in spiritual vitality, and in public serviceableness, and that many of them should pass without any conscious change and quite without internal strife or division from orthodoxy to Unitarianism. In following what the historians call the "Unitarian Controversy" we too often receive the impression that the New England parishes were rent with angry discussion and schism, but the truth is that a very large majority of the churches that ultimately found themselves in Unitarian fellowship crossed the boundary without knowing it. In the cases where the minister was orthodox and the parish liberal, as in the First Church in Cambridge, or where the minister and parish were liberal and the "Church" was orthodox, as at Dedham, there was division sometimes embittered by legal contests; but in such churches as the First Parishes of Portland, Brookline, Hingham, Weston, and Concord, and the First Churches of Boston, Salem, and Dorchester, the West Church in Boston and the South Church in Portsmouth, there was not even any debate over theological changes. It was a natural, peaceful evolution.

But, besides the open way thus set before the churches, certain positive influences promoted theological change and progress. Harvard College in the Eighteenth Century was to both political and theological conservatives "a nest of sedition," and it is not a surprise to discover that a very large majority of the prophets and pioneers of the liberal cause were Harvard graduates. The college maintained the wholesome Puritan traditions, but evidently, even under the narrow conditions of academic life in the Eighteenth Century, a certain habit of mind was encouraged there which nourished intellectual freedom. The little New England seminary taught men to think for themselves and to trust their own reverent conclusions. It bade them prove all things, and hold fast only what was good. Its lamp of truth guided many a mind, imprisoned in harsh beliefs and formal observances, to spiritual enfranchisement.

Again, the political agitations of the time were inevitably reflected more or less clearly in its theology. The religious life of any age takes form and color from its secular life. There is action and reaction between them. If Christianity made democracy possible, so the ideals of democracy have profoundly affected Christianity. The agitation for civil liberty in New England often revolutionized not only men's conceptions of government, but their theological convictions as well. The leaven of the political ideas that prevailed in Massachusetts modified the prevailing Calvinism. The democratic spirit breaks down old boundaries. It trusts the intelligence and moral feeling of the masses. It refuses to accept arbitrary decrees as final. The liberalism of the

Massachusetts ministers was just the translation into the language of theology of the political ideals of the heroes of the Revolution. As Samuel Adams and James Otis challenged the right of a despotic king to do what he willed with his own, Jonathan Mayhew challenged the right of a despotic God. Channing's doctrine of the dignity of human nature was simply the theological expression of the doctrine of the Rights of Man. Between a theology teaching total depravity and a democracy upholding self-government there could be no peace. It is therefore to be expected when we find that the prophets of religious liberty were also stanch adherents of the patriot cause in Massachusetts. Mayhew was its ardent young apostle. Thaxter, Packard, and Worcester fought at Bunker Hill. Lathrop, Hitchcock, and Barnard were conspicuous in dramatic episodes of the great contest. West, Shute, Thacher, and many more were in the Constitutional Convention. All were prophets and champions of freedom, and we may be sure that the streams of their political and religious activities did not flow side by side without often mingling. Like all forerunners of a great movement of thought and life, these prophets of liberalism conspired with the moral forces of their generation. They revealed the hopes that were latent in many hearts. Their influence was like a change of climate or the coming of spring after a winter of austere theology.

The second volume, which describes the careers of the liberal leaders of the first half of the Nineteenth Century, covers the Period of Controversy and Organization. The division of the Congregational churches into conservative and pro-

gressive wings could not take place without debate. Yet, while reluctantly obliged to separate from cherished fellowships and to break old ties, it is clear that the "Pioneers" of a liberal faith did not aim or desire to create another little denomination. They simply wanted to promote certain principles of thought and conduct which they believed in, such as the right of free inquiry, the authority of reason and conscience in matters of religion, and the placing of character above doctrinal accuracy as a test of religious vitality. They strove to rationalize and simplify theology, to reaffirm the fundamental teaching of the Gospels, and to turn from outward authorities in matters of faith to the inward witnesses. They argued the spirit of the Bible against the letter, the Unity of God against the Trinity, and the impulse of love and good-will against the compulsions of fear. They appealed to men to be religious not with the old arguments of self-reproach, but with the arguments of self-respect. They found in human nature, in the imperatives of conscience, in the revelations of reason, in the sentiments of reverence and awe, the witnesses of a divine origin and an open way to an immortal fellowship. They joined together Christian faith and broad philanthropy, close fellowship with God and neighborly service, the life that now is and the life eternal.

No single personality dominated the Unitarian movement. It did not bear the intellectual stamp of any one leader. We sometimes say that the New England ministers of the Nineteenth Century all "preached Channing." In a measure that is true, and yet it is equally true that no one mind or reputation became tyrannous. Each

man did his independent thinking and carried his sovereignty under his own hat. Channing's own counsel taught his comrades just estimates. The true view of leaders, he said, is that "they are only examples and manifestations of our common nature, showing what belongs to all souls, though unfolded as yet only in a few. The light which shines from them is, after all, but a faint revelation of the power which is treasured in every human being. They are, indeed, as men among children; but the children have a principle of growth which leads to manhood."

Many were the high-minded young men who poured their powers into the pioneer work of the liberal movement. The best scholars at Harvard found there the widest field for the exercise of their gifts, and the intelligent communities of Eastern Massachusetts were ready to give them cordial welcome, recognition, and support. Their message delivered from the pulpit, and through multitudinous pamphlets and volumes, was received with fostering sympathy. The old tone of respect for the minister's office and for the usages of religion provided a congenial atmosphere, while the style of preaching was generally sober, reverential, and as fervent in tone as was consistent with a rather strict sense of professional propriety. Insight, sagacity, and fearlessness marked their philosophy of life and their ethical idealism.

A unity of spirit and purpose, combined with diversity of gifts and service, distinguished these Pioneers just as it did the Prophets of the new interpretations of religion. There is the same enlightened interest in education. Kirkland, Everett, Sparks, and Walker passed successively

from the pulpit to the presidency of Harvard. Palfrey, Norton, Follen, and the two Henry Wares were famous teachers in the same university. There is the same high standard of productive scholarship. The results of the reverent but discriminating Biblical studies of Norton and Nichols, though long ago accepted by the most conservative scholars, were in their day thoroughly revolutionary and pointed the way to the development of the progressive science known as the Higher Criticism of the Bible. Dr. Lamson's authoritative studies of the early Christian times, Alexander Young's invaluable books revealing the sources of American history, Palfrey's standard History of New England, Sparks's remarkable series of biographies, illustrate the activity of these pioneers in the fields of historical research. It is not a surprise when we discover that three of the remaining leading American historians, Parkman, Bancroft, and Hildreth, were sons of these pioneer ministers. The orations of Edward Everett, though phrased in a majestic style that is no longer convincing, were the marvel and delight of an older generation; the romances of William Ware and Sylvester Judd belong with the best American fiction; and nowhere and at no time has Christian preaching risen to higher levels of insight and inspiration than in the sermons of Channing and Buckminster.

It was just the same in the field of practical reforms. Noah Worcester was the great apostle of peace, John Pierpont and Hosea Hildreth were the fervent advocates of temperance, and Dr. Follen was the forerunner of the heroes of the anti-slavery struggle. Joseph Tuckerman was a most remarkable and efficient pioneer in the wise

administration of charity, and his methods and ideals are still guiding and inspiring philanthropy all over the world.

In less conspicuous places and in ways now almost forgotten these pioneers served their own and the coming generations. Men like Freeman, Lamson, Allen, and Thompson by long and far-sighted service on school committees laid broad and deep foundations for the public-school system in America. Samuel Willard and Levi Leonard wrote the school books from which thousands of American children derived their elementary training, and Dr. Willard was a pioneer, too, in the use of music as an essential element in education. John Bartlett was one of the pioneers of progress in the practice of medicine, and Greenwood and W. B. O. Peabody were foremost of their generation in encouraging the study of nature, and started impulses which have developed in ever-widening circles.

And these men were pioneers of an organized religious life. Forced unwillingly into controversy, they defended their positions with unequalled skill and patience. Often obliged to separate themselves from the institutions in which, because of their opinions, they were no longer welcome, they established their own organizations and maintained them, if not generously, at least courageously. Thus Bancroft, Willard, Clapp, and William Ware were typical pioneers of the new thought of God and man as embodied in fruitful churches. They did not merely inherit the charge of churches already liberal, but, bravely facing and conquering hostile environments, they built from the foundation up. Kendall and Lamson, Abbot, Sherman, and Willson,

were at the centre of noteworthy parish controversies, the first two on the winning and the last three on the losing side. Noah Worcester, Jared Sparks, and David Reed were pioneer editors, diffusing liberal principles through the printed page, and Samuel Thacher, the Whitmans, and the senior Henry Ware rendered similar service with tracts and pamphlets in which they upheld the liberal positions. James Walker and Henry Ware, Jr., with their still younger comrade, Ezra Stiles Gannett, before they were thirty years of age were the leading spirits in the organization of the American Unitarian Association, which first brought the liberal churches and ministers into a loosely compacted fellowship, opened for them a door of utterance, and gave them an agency for co-operative work.

The third volume covers the Period of Spiritual Affirmation and Church Extension. The great traditions of preaching were transmitted through the many-sided genius of Theodore Parker, the logical arguments and far-sighted wisdom of Orville Dewey, the fervent eloquence of Starr King and William H. Channing, the persuasive reasonableness of James Freeman Clarke, the impressive personality and vivid style of George Putnam, the majestic voice and presence of Horatio Stebbins. Scholarship suffered no decline. Hedge and Everett were profound theologians and enlightening teachers. Noyes, Furness, Morison, and Livermore enriched the literature about the Bible with original translations, interpretations, and commentaries. Allen was equally a master in the classics and in church history. Samuel Johnson and James Freeman

Clarke were the first to reveal to Western minds the wonders of the Oriental religions. The higher education continued to claim allegiance and service. Thomas Hill, Andrew Peabody, Hedge, Stearns, Emerson, Clarke, Putnam, Allen, Ellis, Everett, Noyes, and Francis built their lives not only into the minds and hearts of the people of the parishes they ministered to, but also into Harvard University, which they served as President, as Fellows, as Deans of the Faculty of Divinity, and as honored teachers. William G. Eliot was the founder and first chancellor of Washington University in St. Louis. Frederic Huidekoper, Rufus Stebbins, Stearns, and Livermore upbuilt the usefulness of the Meadville Theological School in Pennsylvania. Hosmer and Hill were presidents of Antioch College in Ohio. Horatio Stebbins was the most potent influence in establishing upon a broad foundation the State University and the Leland Stanford, Jr., University in California.

Historical research and administration engaged the well-stored and fertile minds of Dr. Burnap in Baltimore and of Dr. Ellis in the Massachusetts Historical Society, while William Barry founded the Historical Society in Chicago. Drs. Babbidge, Moors, and Woodbury wrote army or regimental histories, Leonard, Clark, and Barry the histories of New England towns, and Robbins and Foote the annals of their churches, and all are models of their kind. Upham, Longfellow, and Frothingham wrote the standard biographies of great Americans, and Ripley, Brooks, Hedge, Parker, Furness, Clarke, Weiss, and Dwight opened to American readers the rich stores of German poetry, music, and philosophy.

The extraordinary activity of the Unitarians in all forms of public-spirited service is illustrated by the anti-slavery work of Parker and the Mays, of Furness, Clarke, Stearns, and many others, and by the splendid initiative and energy of Bellows, King, Heywood, Eliot, Lowe, and Knapp in the United States Sanitary Commission. Ephraim Peabody was a wise pioneer in charity organization, Brigham in the conservation of the public health, Bellows in the reform of the civil service, John Ware and Henry Foote in providing for the education of the colored people. Charles Dall practised some original ideas in foreign missionary work, and Lowell and Foote pointed out the practical ways of Christian unity, and showed the warring sects how to walk in them. Abbot, Willson, Whitney, and Brooks diffused intelligence and civic righteousness through the founding and maintenance of public libraries, Leonard Livermore through the improvement of Sunday-school methods, Samuel J. May through the advocacy and adoption of modern ideas in the training of teachers, Brigham through the channels of social and religious influence at a great State university, while men like Dr. Heywood in Louisville, Dr. Hill at Worcester, Dr. Woodbury at Providence, Dr. Reynolds at Concord, Dr. Moors at Greenfield, Mr. Ware at Burlington, and Mr. Wheeler at Winchendon gave themselves with unremitting devotion to the development of the public-school system.

Yet, in spite of these manifold activities, the words "Spiritual Affirmation and Church Extension" best define the characteristics of this period. The dominant influence in the work of church extension was that of Henry W. Bellows. It was

he who gave direction to the effort to organize the free churches into an efficient fellowship and to perpetuate the Unitarian habit of mind. He showed the Unitarian churches that freedom is consistent with co-operative effort, and that personal liberty is not more essential than co-ordinated action. Had the Unitarian body been more flexible to his guidance, it would have developed more rapidly and extensively. Dr. Bellows possessed an administrative capacity that has never been surpassed in the history of religion and philanthropy in this country. Sometimes autocratic in word or action, his motives were always catholic, and his sympathies were broad and generous. Sometimes apparently reactionary, he was more often boldly adventurous. The cause of this seeming inconsistency was to be found in the gifts of imagination and emotion that made him a great preacher as well as a great administrator. The results of his endeavors and of the work of others who followed in his footsteps are seen in the organization of the National Conference (1865), the Ministers' Institute (1876), the State and Local Conferences, the Women's Alliance (1890), the Young People's Religious Union (1896), and finally the International Council of Unitarian and Other Liberal Religious Thinkers and Workers (1900), pledged to the task of bringing into fellowship those who, in all parts of the world, are striving to unite pure religion and perfect liberty.

But even more conspicuously was the last half of the Nineteenth Century for the Unitarians a Period of Spiritual Affirmation. The Unitarian preachers conceived that only as truth takes spiritual form can it come with persuasive and uplifting power into the hearts of men. Their

constant endeavor was, therefore, to set forth the spiritual meaning and interpretation of observed facts. Their most characteristic men were those who, like Longfellow, Johnson, Sears and Wasson, Lunt and Livermore, Furness and Frothingham, Bulfinch and Hedge, interpreted religion in terms of poetry. The Unitarian preachers accomplished much for the rationalizing of theology, they contributed new interpretations of Biblical literature, they upbuilt the institutions of education and philanthropy, they did their part in establishing the rule of righteousness, but the fundamental spirit of their teaching was that of an unobscured and uninterrupted relation of the soul of Man with the life of God. In the midst of that which is changing they bore witness to that which is changeless.

It is desirable that this distinctive function of the preachers of the liberal faith should be more clearly recognized. Men have thought of Unitarianism as a form of theological dissent, or as a protest against prevailing doctrinal error, or as a philosophical rationalism, or as a proclamation of reason and common sense in religion. In all these varied forms of thought and activity Unitarianism has had its place and its necessary work, but fundamentally it is none of these things. It is primarily a declaration of the present life of God in the present life of men. Its inner spirit is best expressed in its lyric utterances. Unitarianism is not merely an intellectual revolt: it is fundamentally a revival of spiritual life. The Unitarians of the closing decades of the Nineteenth Century continued, indeed, to contend for liberty of opinion, for the unfettered speech which deals in no ambiguity and which shelters no mental

reservations, for democracy in organization, and for righteousness in public and private life. They continued, that is, to be protestants and dissenters, and for such end were content to remain a pioneer minority; but their distinctive privilege was to transmit the witness of the spirit of truth and good-will, and it is through a clear relation of cause and effect that their faith expressed itself most characteristically in poetry. "It is not by accident that the lyrics of Longfellow, Lowell, Holmes, Bryant, and Emerson proceeded from lives bred in the rational piety of the Unitarians, or that Whittier, who must be joined with them in character of his verse, was joined with them also in the fellowship of the 'Inner Light.' And, when we pass from the great masters, what does it mean that from a group of minor poets of the same tradition—from Samuel Longfellow and Furness and Hedge and many others among the elders, from Hosmer, Gannett, and Chadwick, and many others of the present generation—there has proceeded a strain of lyric theism whose music penetrates many a church whose doors are closed against the poets? It means that beneath the vigorous rationalism and sincere dissent of the Unitarians there is a deeper movement of religious life, a consciousness of God which none but a poet can utter, a spiritual lineage which unites these modern minds to the great company of witnesses of the real presence,—the fellowship of the Church of the Spirit."

The Unitarian movement has thus passed from negative to grandly positive affirmations, from protest against wrong to service of the right. It has survived many perils,—external hostility, internal dissension, rash experiment, and tem-

porary reaction. It has outlived misrepresentation alike from friends and foes, the timidity or indifference of nominal adherents, the calumnies of ignorant or bigoted opponents, and even the imitation of men who have tried to come near as possible to the Unitarian positions without actually adopting them. It is now entering upon a new period wherein the emphasis is to be not so much upon the discovery of truth as upon the application of truth, not so much upon freedom as upon the uses of freedom,—a period wherein the dominant impulse will be that of social and public service, and which, while retaining all that the past has won and continuing the necessary work of protest against error and evil, of organization and church extension, and of spiritual affirmation, may be called the Period of the Application of Truth to Life.

It has been good for me to live in the companionship of these heralds of truth and freedom, and I rejoice that the good-will of friends too numerous to mention now enables me to give the results of my studies to those who share my enthusiasms or who cherish the memory of one or another of the men whose personal characteristics and religious convictions are here recalled. Whatever may be the final influence of these prophets, pioneers, and preachers, it is certain that men of purer lives or nobler spirit never transmitted religious inspiration from one generation to another.

Samuel A. Eliot.

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HERALDS OF A LIBERAL FAITH

The Prophets

EBENEZER GAY

1696–1787

AND THE MINISTERS OF THE BAY ASSOCIATION

Ebenezer Gay was the youngest son of Nathaniel and Lydia Gay, and was born in Dedham, Mass., August 15, 1696. He was prepared for college at the town school of Dedham, and graduated at Harvard in 1714, then taught the grammar schools in Hadley and Ipswich successively, and in connection with his work as a teacher studied theology. He began preaching in September, 1717, as a candidate for the church in Hingham, where the pulpit had been left vacant by the death of the Rev. John Norton. The result was that on the 30th of December following he received a call to become pastor of the church; and on the 11th of June, 1718, he was ordained and installed. The ordination sermon was preached by the Rev. Joseph Belcher, of Dedham.

Mr. Gay brought with him to the ministry a high reputation for scholarship, and, while yet a young man, attracted the particular notice of Governor Burnet, who is said to have remarked that he and Mr. Bradstreet, of Charlestown, were the most learned of the clergy of New England. In the course of his long

life he received many testimonies of public respect. He preached the Artillery Election Sermon in 1728, the General Election Sermon in 1745, the Sermon before the Convention of Congregational Ministers in 1746, and gave the Dudleian Lecture at Harvard in 1750. In 1785 he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard College.

Mr. Gay was married on November 3, 1719, to Jerusha, daughter of Samuel Bradford, of Duxbury, who was the grandson of Governor Bradford. Mrs. Gay died August 19, 1783, aged eighty-five years. She was the mother of eleven children, five sons and six daughters. Dr. Gay lived to be ninety-one, and retained his faculties in remarkable vigor till the close of his life. On Sunday morning, the 8th of March, 1787, when he was preparing for the regular service, he was attacked with sudden illness, and died almost instantly. The length of his ministry was sixty-eight years, nine months, and seven days. The funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Shute, of the Second Parish in Hingham.

Dr. Gay has often been called the father of American Unitarianism. President John Adams, in a letter to Dr. Morse, dated May 15, 1815, wrote, "Sixty years ago my own minister, Rev. Lemuel Briant,[1] Dr. Jonathan Mayhew,[2] of the West Church in Boston, Rev. Mr. Shute,[3] of Hingham, Rev. John Brown,[4] of Cohasset, and, perhaps equal to all, if not above all, Rev. Dr. Gay, of Hingham, were Unitarians." Like most of his contemporaries, Dr. Gay was not given to accurately defining his doctrinal position; but it is recorded that "his discourses will be searched in vain for any discussions of controversial theology, in advocacy of the peculiar doctrines known as orthodox, or the expression of any opinions at variance

with those of his distinguished successor in the same pulpit, Rev. Dr. Ware." The liberalizing influence of Dr. Gay was exercised chiefly through personal intercourse; in his own parish, over the pupils who resorted to him, and with his ministerial associates.

Dr. Gay's name is signed to a paper entitled "The Sentiments and Resolutions of an Association of Ministers convened at Weymouth, January 15, 1743," in which they bear testimony against Whitefield's preaching as "having a tendency to promote a spirit of bitterness." They further declare that they will not encourage him to preach, either publicly or privately, in their respective parishes. This association of ministers, in which Dr. Gay was apparently the leading spirit, included a number of neighboring ministers, all of whom were recognized as "liberal," and who were forerunners of the Unitarian movement. Besides the ministers named by John Adams, this group contained Dr. Barnes,[5] of Scituate, Dr. Hitchcock,[6] of Pembroke, and later Dr. Gay's parishioner and pupil, Joseph Thaxter.[7] These neighbors and friends enjoyed entire harmony in their religious opinions, and formed what seems to have been the first ministerial association in New England to hold the convictions which later became known as Unitarian. They were, however, much averse to controversy. They did not conceal their opinions when challenged, but they declined argument.

Besides his intimacy with his neighbors, Dr. Gay was a warm friend of Jonathan Mayhew, whose biographer declares that Mayhew was indebted to Dr. Gay for the adoption or confirmation of the "liberal and rational views" which he embraced. Others are of the opinion that Dr. Gay acquired his liberal views from his more aggressive friend and pupil. Dr. Gay preached the sermon at Mayhew's ordination

in 1747, and another on his death in 1766. Dr. Gay's daughter married Mayhew's successor, Simeon Howard.

A close intimacy also existed between three of the patriarchs of the Massachusetts churches,—Dr. Gay, Dr. Chauncy, of the First Church in Boston, and Dr. Appleton, of the First Church in Cambridge. Hon. Alden Bradford, in his historical sketch of Harvard College, written in 1787, speaks of his recollection of seeing these three venerable men walking to the college chapel together, two being nearly ninety years old, and the other, Dr. Chauncy, about eighty-three. Chauncy and Gay died in the same year, Appleton three years earlier. At the ordination of Simeon Howard as pastor of the West Church in Boston in succession to Jonathan Mayhew, Dr. Chauncy preached the sermon, Dr. Gay gave the charge, and Dr. Appleton gave the right hand of fellowship.

In the Revolutionary period Dr. Gay adhered to Tory sentiments, and continued for years to pray for the king and all the royal family, yet such was his discretion that he maintained his position at the head of a parish largely composed of supporters of the Declaration of Independence without seriously impairing his usefulness. Mr. Solomon Lincoln has recorded this anecdote of these times: "It was a part of the duty of the Committee of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety to call upon suspected citizens, and those known to be Loyalists, to demand a search for arms. It was proposed that the committee should call upon Dr. Gay, and demand his arms, probably not because they supposed he had any of which he would make improper use against the new government, but because the opportunity was a good one to give him a sort of official admonition that he held obnoxious sentiments, in which some of the most influential of his people did not share. That the thing to be done was a little aggravating did not

take away the zest of doing it. It would have been ungenerous, also, had there not been a very perfect accord between Dr. Gay and his parish, as pastor and people, on all subjects save politics. The committee presented themselves before the doctor, who received them in his study, standing, and with entire calmness and dignity, when he inquired of them, 'What do you wish with me, gentlemen?' 'We have come, sir, in accordance with our duty, as the Committee of Safety, to ask you what arms you have in the house.' He looked at them kindly, perhaps a little reproachfully, for a moment or two before answering, and then said, laying his hand upon a large Bible on the table by which he stood, 'There, my friends, are my arms; and I trust to find them ever sufficient for me.' The committee retired with some precipitation, discomfited by the dignified manner and implied rebuke of Dr. Gay; and the chairman was heard to say to his associates as they passed out of the yard, 'The old gentleman is always ready.'"

Notwithstanding the political opinions entertained by Dr. Gay, he continued to find among the ministers who held opposite views his most ardent friends. The intercourse between him and Dr. Shute, of the Second Parish, who was a zealous Whig, remained of the most friendly character; and he was on most excellent terms with Mr. Smith, of Weymouth (the father of Mrs. John Adams), and Mr. Brown, of Cohasset, who at one time was a chaplain to the troops in Nova Scotia before the Revolution. Dr. Gay's son, Jotham Gay, was a captain in another regiment. The doctor, in writing to Mr. Brown, says, "I wish you may visit Jotham, and minister good instruction to him and his company, and furnish him with suitable sermons in print, or in your own legible if not very intelligible manuscripts, to read to his men, who are without a

preacher,—in the room of one, constitute Jotham curate."

The earliest sermon of Dr. Gay's which was printed was delivered at the ordination of the Rev. Joseph Green at Barnstable. Toward the close of this discourse we find the following passage in Dr. Gay's peculiar vein. He was speaking of the candidate for ordination, Joseph Green, and he said: "We trust that he will be a Joseph unto his brethren whom he is to feed with the bread of life, and that God sendeth him here to preserve their souls from perishing. The Lord make him a fruitful bough, even a fruitful bough by a well, grafted into the tree of life, and always green and flourishing in the courts of our God."

Dr. Gay was remarkable in the selection and application of his texts. Having for a long time been unsuccessful in procuring a well of water for his homestead, he introduced the subject into his prayers and also preached a sermon on Numbers xxi. 17,—"Then Israel sang this song: Spring up, O well, sing ye unto it." The text of his sermon preached at the installation of the Rev. Ezra Carpenter at Keene, in 1750, was Zachariah ii. 1: "I lift up mine eyes again and look, and behold a man with a measuring line in his hand." His feeling in regard to written articles of faith was expressed in 1751, in a sermon at the ordination of the Rev. Jonathan Dorby at Scituate: "And 'tis a pity any man, at his entrance into the ministry, should, in his ordination vows, get a snare to his soul by subscribing or any way engaging to preach according to another's rule of faith, creed, or confession, which is merely of human prescription and imposition."

In 1781 Dr. Gay delivered a sermon on his eighty-fifth birthday, which was published under the title of "The Old Man's Calendar." It passed through several editions in this country, was reprinted in Eng-

land, and translated into the Dutch language, and published in Holland. The text of the sermon is, "I am this day fourscore and five years old." The following paragraph forms the conclusion of the discourse, and is an extract characteristic of the preaching of Dr. Gay's generation:—

Lo, now, my brethren, I am this day fourscore and five years old,—a wonder of God's sparing mercy. Sixty-three of these years have I spent in the work of the ministry among you. One hundred and forty-six years ago your fathers came with their Pastor, and settled in this place. I am the third in the pastorate of this church, which hath not been two years vacant. Scarce any parish but hath had more in that office in so long a space of time. The people of this have been steady to their own ministers, living to old age; have not been given to change, nor with itching ears have heaped to themselves teachers. I bless God, who disposed my lot among a people with whom I have lived here in great peace eleven years longer than either of my worthy predecessors. I have only to wish that my labours had been as profitable as they have been acceptable to them.

I retain a grateful sense of the kindnesses (injuries I remember none) which I received from them. While I have reaped of their carnal things to my comfortable subsistence, it hath been my great concern and pleasure to sow unto them spiritual things, which might spring up in a harvest of eternal blessings. That their affections to me as their Pastor have continued from fathers to children, and children's children, hath been thankfully observed by me, and should have been improved as an advantage and incentive to do them (in returns of love for love) all possible good. It is but little that I can now do in the work to which I am kept up so late in the evening of my days, and my people may feel their great need of one more able in body and mind to serve them in the Gospel ministry. In this case, my brethren, I hope that no partial regard to me, or parsimonious view to your worldly interest, will hinder your timely providing yourselves with such an one. As much as I dread and deprecate the being cut down as a cumberer of the ground in this part of the Lord's vineyard, I would not, with my useless old age, fill up the place, and deprive you of the help of a profitable labourer in it. I submit to the wisdom and will of God my own desire to finish my course of life and the ministry I have received of Him together; while I make the humble acknowledgment and prayer to Him in Psalm lxxi.: "O God, thou hast taught me from my youth, and hitherto have

I declared thy wondrous works; now, also, when I am old and gray-headed, O God, forsake me not, until I have showed thy strength unto this generation." Caleb, when he was as old as I am, could say, "As yet I am as strong this day as I was in the day that Moses sent me"; that is, when he was forty years old. "As my strength was then, even so my strength is now, for war, both to go out and to come in." It is far otherwise with me; yet what remaineth of the little strength I ever had for the ministerial warfare I would as gladly spend in the service of your souls, and assist you all I can in your Christian combat against the enemies which oppose your salvation. This would I do, God enabling me, as long as I am in this tabernacle of frail flesh, knowing that I must shortly put it off, and exchange the sacred desk for the silent grave. But, O my soul, how awful the long, the very long and strict account to be given to God of thyself and of thousands more committed to thy charge, to watch also for their safety and everlasting happiness! Brethren, pray for me, that I may find mercy of the Lord in that day, which, if I should fail of, it had been good for me, and perhaps for you also, perishing by my neglect, that I had never been born, the consideration of which should excite my utmost care and diligence to make full proof of my ministry, and engage your attendance upon it in such a manner as will show you are not grown into a weariness of it, which would render it unprofitable to you. I have been young and now am old. Your fathers despised not my youth for its weakness, nor have you my old age for the infirmities that attend it, which giveth some encouragement to hope that my long continuance with you is not so much to the hindrance of the Gospel of Christ and detriment to your spiritual interests as I am often ready to fear. After some decay or interruption of the Philippians' liberality to Paul, he thus writeth unto them (Phil. iv. 10), "I rejoice in the Lord greatly that now, at the last, your care of me hath flourished again." So hath yours of me. I may add as he doth, "Not that I speak in respect of want," which you have let me suffer in these difficult times. You lay fresh engagements upon me to exert myself in the service of your souls; and, if the God of my life and health prolong the same any farther, I would go on in the strength of the Lord God to labour for your salvation, ardently labouring for the gracious commendation which the minister of the church in Thyatira received from Christ (Rev. ii. 19), "I know thy works and the last to be more than the first." That mine may be more faithful and more successful, God, of his mercy to me and you, grant for Christ's sake. And now, brethren, I commend you to God and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among all them that are sanctified.

MINISTERS OF THE BAY ASSOCIATION.

[1] LEMUEL BRIANT was a native of Scituate, and graduated at Harvard College in 1739. He was ordained at what is now Quincy, Mass., then a part of Braintree, December 4, 1745, resigned on account of ill-health in 1753, and died at Scituate, October 1, 1754, aged thirty-two. In 1749, when he was only twenty-seven years old, he preached a sermon at the West Church in Boston, which is usually considered the first gun in the controversy that later developed. The sermon was on "The Absurdity and Blasphemy of Depreciating Moral Virtue." In this sermon he affirmed that "the great rule the Scriptures lay down for men to go by in passing judgment on their spiritual state is the sincere, upright, steady, and universal practice of virtue." Some might object, he declared, that this was not preaching Christ; but he answered, "To preach up chiefly what Christ himself laid the chiefest Stress upon (and whether this was not moral Vertue, let every One judge from his Discourses) must certainly, in the Opinion of all sober Men, be called truly and properly, and in the best Sense, preaching of Christ." For Briant's work see Williston Walker's History of the Congregational Churches, pp. 271 to 273; Cooke's Unitarianism in America, p. 50; D. M. Wilson's "Where American Independence began"; and the town histories of Quincy.

[2] JONATHAN MAYHEW. See article on page 34.

[3] DANIEL SHUTE, a son of John and Mary (Wayte) Shute, was born in Malden on the 19th of July, 1722. He graduated at Harvard in 1743. In June, 1746, he was invited to preach as a candidate in the recently formed Third Parish in Hingham. This parish was set off from the First Parish (Dr. Gay's) March 25, 1745, and at that time was designated the Third, as Cohasset, which was the Second Precinct, had not then been incorporated as a separate town. This was done in 1770, and the Third Parish of Hingham has since been known as the Second Parish. The people living in the southern part of the town had contended for nearly twenty years for separate parochial privileges, and some hard feeling had naturally grown out of the long controversy.

Mr. Shute accepted the call to Hingham. In the following November a church was embodied, and Mr. Shute was ordained pastor December 10, 1746. Dr. Gay was invited to be present with delegates; but he declined the invitation in behalf of his church, and did not himself attend. In a short time, however, the most friendly relations were established between the two parishes and their pastors.

In May following the settlement of Mr. Shute he exchanged pulpit services with Dr. Gay, and continued to do so until the death of the latter. The first marriage of Mr. Shute was solemnized by Dr. Gay, and Mr. Shute conducted the funeral of Dr. Gay.

The ministry of Dr. Shute covered more than half a century. During that period pastor and people were severely tried by the French and Revolutionary Wars. In both Mr. Shute entered warmly into the feelings of the great body of the people, and used an active influence in forming and guiding public opinion. In 1767 he delivered the annual sermon before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company from the text (Ecclesiastes ix. 18), "Wisdom is better than weapons of war." In 1768 he preached the Election Sermon from the text (Ezra x. 4), "Arise, for this matter belongeth unto thee; he will also be with thee; be of good courage, and do it." Both these discourses were printed, and bear marks of careful composition and strong common sense. His sermon at the funeral of Dr. Gay, an impressive and affectionate tribute, was also published.

Tradition informs us that Dr. Shute's preaching was marked for the absence of all controversial topics; yet it is well understood that he sympathized with those who entertained what were termed "more liberal views" than those held by the great body of the clergy. In this respect there was great harmony of opinion in the whole town and in all the parishes which it then contained. His salary was a moderate one. His parish was not large, and was composed chiefly of substantial farmers and mechanics. To procure the means of a more independent support, he took scholars to prepare them for college and the pursuits of business. Among his scholars are recollected the Hon. Thomas H. Perkins and the Hon. John Welles, of Boston, and sons of General Lincoln and Governor Hancock.

In 1780 he was chosen by his townsmen a delegate to the Convention to frame a Constitution for the State. In 1788 he was associated with General Lincoln to represent the town in the Convention of Massachusetts which ratified the Constitution of the United States, and on this occasion voted and took an active part in favor of adopting the Constitution. In the brief sketches of the debates which have been preserved there is the substance of a speech which he delivered on the subject of a Religious Test, which strikingly illustrates his liberality and good sense. It is characterized by a vigorous and manly tone, taking the ground that to establish such a test as a qualification for offices in the proposed Constitution would injure individuals, abridge liberty, and be of no advantage to the community at large. In 1790 he was honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard College.

Dr. Shute possessed an excellent constitution, and lived to the age of fourscore years in the enjoyment of an uncommon degree of health until near the close of his life. He was twice married. His first wife was Mary Cushing, daughter of Abel and Mary (Jacob) Cushing, of Hingham, to whom he was married March 25, 1753. By her he had two children. After her death, on February 12, 1756, he married Deborah, daughter of Elijah and Elizabeth Cushing, of Pembroke, January 6, 1763. She died October 26, 1823, aged eighty-five. Dr. Shute died August 30, 1802, in the eighty-first year of his age and in the fifty-sixth of his ministry. At his funeral a sermon was delivered by the Rev. Henry Ware (senior), the successor of Dr. Gay as pastor of the First Parish.

[4] John Brown was born at Haverhill, Mass., and graduated at Harvard College in 1741. He was ordained "bishop over the Second Church in Hingham," September 2, 1747, and remained minister until his death, August 22, 1791. During his ministry his parish was set off from Hingham, and incorporated as the town of Cohasset. One of his successors, Rev. Jacob Flint, in his historical discourses delivered at the centennial anniversary of the establishment of the church, December 16, 1821, said: "The talents of the Rev. John Brown were considerably more than ordinary. In a stately person he possessed a mind whose perceptions were quick and clear, and his sentiments were generally the result of just reflection. He thought for himself, and, when he had confirmed his opinions, uttered them with fearless freedom. He would sometimes, it is said, descend to that jesting which, an apostle has told us, is not convenient. He was never prone to labor much with his hands nor to intense application of mind. A warm friend to the interests of his country, he zealously advocated its civil and religious freedom. Taking a lively interest in the American Revolution, he encouraged by example and preaching his fellow-citizens at home and abroad patiently to make those sacrifices which were demanded by the times, predicting at the same time, with the foresight of a prophet, the present unrivalled prosperity of his country."

[5] David Barnes was born in Marlboro, Mass., on the 24th of March, 1731. He was a son of Daniel Barnes, a substantial farmer, having twelve children, of whom David was the fifth. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1752, and must have begun preaching shortly after, as he received an invitation to settle in Quincy in 1753. This invitation he declined. He preached to the Second Church in Scituate in June, 1754, and on the 15th of August following was unanimously invited to become pastor. He accepted the invi-

tation, and was ordained and installed on the 4th of the ensuing December.

His ministry opened with fair prospects, and his people were united and prosperous; but before many years he had to encounter serious difficulties, growing chiefly out of the distracted state of the country. Throughout the War of the Revolution his salary was paid in the depreciated Continental currency, and he was obliged to depend almost entirely for the support of his family on the small property of his wife. When the controversy which resulted in the division of the Congregational Church of Massachusetts began, it was well understood that his sympathies were on the "liberal" side; but his death occurred before the line between the two parties was finally drawn. In the year 1780 he delivered the Dudleian Lecture at Harvard University, and in 1799 received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the same institution. In 1809 a colleague was settled, and fifteen months afterward Dr. Barnes died, on the 26th of April, 1811, having completed eighty years, fifty-seven of which he had spent in the ministry. He was married in 1756 to Rachel, daughter of the Hon. George Leonard, of Norton. They had three children, one son and two daughters.

Dr. James Kendall, of Plymouth, in the course of an appreciative and entertaining description of Dr. Barnes, wrote:—

"The report of many of his sayings would seem to indicate a levity of mind,—an irreverent, not to say frivolous way of speaking of things of a serious nature. This arose partly from a quaint, laconic, pithy manner of giving utterance to his thoughts. He was accustomed to condense everything that he said in the highest possible degree. One of his contemporaries used to say, 'Every sentence Dr. Barnes writes or speaks is as full as an egg.' In his advanced age he became very deaf, and of course unable to regulate his own voice. This added to the peculiarity of his manner, of which he seemed conscious. On one occasion, being called to deliver an address before the trustees and pupils of the Derby Academy in Hingham, discoursing on eloquence, he stopped short, and at the top of his voice exclaimed: 'Methinks I hear some of you say, "Physician, heal thyself." But, my friends, a physician can sometimes help others when he can't help himself.'

"Dr. Barnes as a preacher may be said to have been unique. His voice was by no means remarkable for its melody, nor could he be said to manage it with any uncommon skill, and yet there was that about his manner, especially in his sudden transitions from a high to a low note, that was well fitted to hold the attention. The matter of his discourses was characterized by an almost endless variety.

He would find lessons of truth or wisdom in everything; and, though some of his subjects might at first provoke a smile, yet he would always draw something from them that was fitted to make men better in their various relations. I remember one of his pointed sayings, which he uttered in his own emphatic manner and with great effect in the charge which he delivered at the ordination of his colleague, the Rev. Mr. Deane. 'In attempting,' said he, 'to instruct your people, be careful not to preach what they cannot understand, and especally be careful not to preach what you do not understand yourself.'

"Although Dr. Barnes's constitution was naturally delicate, yet his health was preserved to a good old age. He was a farmer both in theory and in practice, and was particularly versed in the curious economy of bees and successful in their management. He exercised a great deal, and was accustomed to walk, even in old age, to distant parts of his parish. His friends remonstrated with him for making the effort, and inquired why he did not have his horse harnessed, and ride in his chaise. His answer was, and it became quite a proverbial saying among his people, 'If an old man means to have any benefit from his legs, he must keep them going.' Dr. Barnes's extreme deafness led him to talk the more without listening to others; and it was often both amusing and instructive to hear the dialogues which he would carry on with himself in the midst of company, for he would not, like the generality of people, ever sit silent or speak only in monosyllables.

"It was Dr. Barnes's practice, whether at a marriage or a funeral, to describe the character of the parties. If at a funeral, for instance, supposing the deceased were of a mixed character, partly good and partly otherwise, it would be known by the service. One of the anecdotes that yet remain concerning the doctor is that at the funeral of a respectable parishioner who had many virtues, and whose general character was praiseworthy, but who at an earlier period of life had fallen into some immorality, of which, however, it was generally believed he had repented, having dwelt upon the good traits in the character of his parishioner, Dr. Barnes, after a sudden pause, proceeded, 'In short, we know nothing against the character of our deceased friend, save in the matter of Uriah; and for this everybody forgave him, but he could never forgive himself.'"

The following is a list of Dr. Barnes's publications:—

An Ordination Sermon, 1756; A Sermon on the Love of Life and Fear of Death, 1795; A Discourse on Education before the Trustees of the Derby Academy, 1796; A Sermon on the Death of Washington, 1800; A Sermon on the Death of the Rev. James Hawley, 1801; A Sermon at the Ordination of Jotham Waterman, 1802. In 1815 a

small posthumous volume of Dr. Barnes's sermons was published, with a notice of his character, by the Rev. Dr. Allyn, of Duxbury.

[6] Gad Hitchcock (1718–1803) was born in Springfield, Mass., February 12, 1718–19. He was a son of Ebenezer and Mary (Sheldon) Hitchcock, and on the mother's side was a descendant, in the fifth generation, from the Hon. William Pynchon, the founder of the town of Springfield. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1743, and was ordained and installed over the Second Parish in Pembroke (now Hanson), Mass., in October, 1748. There is a tradition that a portion of the council that ordained him were dissatisfied with some of the views of Christian doctrine which he expressed on his examination, and that in consequence of this the ordination services were postponed for one day.

During the Revolutionary War he was a warm friend to the American cause, and in several instances officiated as chaplain. At a subsequent period he was a member of the convention that framed the constitution of Massachusetts. In 1787 he was honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard College.

Dr. Hitchcock was blessed with a good constitution, and generally with vigorous health, and was able to continue his professional labors without interruption till he was far advanced in life. In July, 1799, he was attacked with paralysis while he was preaching, and never entered the pulpit afterwards. He lingered nearly four years, and died on the 8th of August, 1803, at the age of eighty-five. The funeral service, consisting of only a prayer, according to his own direction, was conducted by the Rev. Dr. Barnes, of Scituate.

He was married in early life to Dorothy Angier, of Cambridge, who died August 6, 1792, aged seventy-nine. They had a son bearing his father's name.

"Dr. Hitchcock," wrote Rev. Morrill Allen, of Pembroke, "was a rather tall but well-proportioned man, and with a large wig—an indispensable article of dress in his day—must have made a very respectable and even dignified appearance in the pulpit. He had undoubtedly a high reputation as a preacher. He would not be considered, perhaps, at this day a graceful and accomplished writer; but his discourses were characterized by great energy of thought and perspicuity of style, and he had a corresponding boldness and honesty of manner that was well fitted to gain and hold the attention. Of the character of his sermons I judge only from tradition and from the very few specimens that are in print, as his son-in-law informed me that, soon after his father's death, he had, according to direction, performed the painful task of committing all his manuscript sermons to the flames.

"Dr. Hitchcock was remarkable both for courage and for patriotism. The first sermon which he published, addressed to a military company when the French were making inroads on our northern frontier, urges the most vigorous means of defence, and evinces a spirit that would be little likely to falter in the hour of danger. His Election Sermon, which was preached only the year before the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, filled Governor Gage, who was present, with great wrath on account of the boldness of its positions, not to say the air of defiance that pervaded it. Tradition says that the sermon was prepared under the expectation that the governor would not be present to hear it; and, after his arrival was announced, some friends earnestly advised the doctor to be very guarded in his expressions before him. But the prompt answer was, 'My sermon is written, and it will not be altered.'

"In private life Dr. Hitchcock was eminently agreeable, though he had some strongly marked peculiarities. He was mirthful, and imparted great animation to almost every social circle in which he appeared. He could encourage virtue and reprove vice without any external signs of austerity. 'Be merry and wise' was his habitual advice to the young on occasions of joy. The doctor, as was not unusual at the period when he lived, was very formal in his devotional services, repeating, Sabbath after Sabbath, precisely the same expressions. One of his parishioners ventured to suggest to him the desirableness of a change in this respect, and told him that even the boys were repeating his prayers in the street. The prompt reply was, 'Then they will know how to pray for themselves.'

"There was a familiarity in the manners and conversation of Dr. Hitchcock not common among clergymen at that day. He was likely to enter into conversation with any person he met in journeying, and would amuse himself in giving and receiving jokes. On his way to Boston he once fell in company with a sailor, and questioned him pretty freely concerning his name, residence, business, etc. The sailor, having answered the questions, proposed, in his turn, similar questions to the doctor; and the reply was, 'My name is Gad Hitchcock, and I belong to Tunk—' (by this name his parish was distinguished, when it was part of Pembroke). The sailor repeated the three names, and cried out, 'Three of the —— names I ever heard.' This retort cheered the old man during the rest of his journey. When the doctor was in Boston, at a certain time, he met a sailor, and asked him if he could box the compass. The answer was, 'Yes.' 'Let me hear you.' The sailor performed correctly. 'Now,' said the doctor, 'reverse it.' This, too, was done with equal promptness. The sailor then asked what *his* oc-

cupation was, and, on being informed that he was a minister, asked him if he could repeat certain portions of Scripture, and, when the doctor had repeated them, 'Now,' said the sailor, 'reverse them.' Such a joke Dr. Hitchcock would enjoy, and repeat with great satisfaction.

"He was a prominent and valued member of the Association of Ministers, to which he belonged. Sometimes his jokes upon certain individuals were rather severe, but he imparted great animation to their social meetings. On one occasion, when he had made some remark that produced a general laugh, one of the members observed that the brethren would laugh at anything Dr. Hitchcock might say, but that *he* might have said the same thing, and it would have passed unnoticed. 'Try,' said the doctor.

"In these several instances we see the man in the hours of relaxation from laborious pursuit; but it would be wrong to infer that the energies of his mind were not habitually applied to more important objects. His protracted ministry was, in every period of it, peaceful and apparently prosperous."

The following is a list of Dr. Hitchcock's publications:—

A Sermon preached before a Military Company, 1757; A Sermon preached at the Ordination of Enos Hitchcock, Beverly, 1771; A Sermon preached at Boston on Occasion of the General Election, 1774; A Sermon preached at Plymouth in Commemoration of the First Landing of our Ancestors, 1774; Dudleian Lecture at Harvard College, 1779.

[7] Joseph Thaxter (1742–1827), the eldest son of Deacon Joseph and Mary (Leavitt) Thaxter, was born in Hingham, April 23, 1742. His father was a farmer in comfortable circumstances, but was not able to gratify his son's desire for a liberal education. The son, however, succeeded, in a somewhat singular way, in accomplishing the object for himself. By the strictest economy he was enabled to lay by the sum of $5, and with this purchased a ticket in a lottery, which drew a prize of $500. He then began a course of study preparatory for college, and in due time entered Harvard; and by the most careful management, in connection with teaching a school at Hingham and one or two other places, he was enabled to pass through the whole course without any material interruption, and graduated in 1768.

He prosecuted his theological studies for some time under the direction of Dr. Gay, and was licensed to preach in the year 1771. In spite of the Toryism of his pastor and teacher he took a deep interest in the cause of his country's independence, and was ready to labor for it, in the pulpit or out of it, as he found opportunity. He was present at the battle of Bunker Hill and at Concord Bridge, and

retained a vivid remembrance of those stirring scenes till the close of life. On the 23d of January, 1776, he received a commission as chaplain in the army, and served in that capacity at Cambridge, in different parts of New Jersey, at the battle of White Plains, and in various other places. The exact time of his holding the chaplaincy is not ascertained, but it is supposed to have been for two or three years. Previous to his settlement he preached as a candidate in a rich farming town on the Connecticut River. The committee of the church or parish informed him that he was invited, by a unanimous vote, to become their pastor. He afterward learned, however, that this statement was not strictly correct, there having been one or two adverse votes, and so much was he displeased with what he deemed a deceptive representation that he wrote a sermon on the text, "I hear that there be divisions among you, and I partly believe it"; and, having preached the sermon, he unceremoniously took leave of the people. He accepted a call from the church in Edgartown, Martha's Vineyard, and was ordained and installed there in the year 1780. His salary was originally a hundred pounds annually; but in the latter part of his life it was reduced to two hunred and seventy-five dollars. Small as it was, however, he not only supported his family upon it, but educated five orphan children.

Mr. Thaxter, some time previous to his settlement, had become strongly attached to a young lady in Hingham, who he had expected would become his wife; but she died shortly after, to his great grief and disappointment. At his ordination his father and some other relatives from Hingham were present; and, after the services were over, he accompanied them to the wharf, saw them safely on board the packet, and then returned to his boarding-house, oppressed with a sense, not only of responsibility, but of isolation and loneliness. A young lady who was visiting in the family in which he boarded (Molly, daughter of Robert Allen, of Chilmark) met him with great kindness, and proffered to him her sympathy in view of his manifest feeling of desolation, and thus began a friendship which resulted in their being married within about a year,—October 12, 1781. They had seven children. Mrs. Thaxter died in 1802, at the age of forty-four. On the 23d of July, 1803, Mr. Thaxter was married to Ann, daughter of Samuel Smith, who became the mother of one daughter, and died in 1821, aged fifty-nine years.

Mr. Thaxter lived in great seclusion, and scarcely ever engaged in any service that took him beyond his immediate neighborhood. Toward the close of his life, however, an event occurred of great historical interest, in his being called upon on the 17th of June, 1825, to officiate as chaplain at the laying of the corner-stone of the

Bunker Hill Monument. This was the last time that he ever left the island. The prayer which he offered on that occasion derived additional impressiveness from the fact that he had then passed his eightieth year.

Mr. Thaxter continued to enjoy his usual health until within about a year of his death. The last Sabbath that he preached he administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and in the afternoon, during the first prayer, he fell in the pulpit. From this time he declined rapidly, until he died on the 18th of July, 1827, aged eighty-three years.

The Rev. Calvin Lincoln, of Hingham, described him in his old age thus: "His head was white with age, his step was quick and nervous, but irregular from a wound received when he served as chaplain or surgeon—for he held both offices—in the army of the Revolution; and his apparel was fashioned after the style adopted by the clergymen of a preceding generation. Thus he presented to my mind a striking resemblance to portraits which I had seen of Gay and Watts and Chauncy, men who wore large white whigs and three-cornered hats." Mr. Thaxter was a man of quick sensibility, ready sympathy, and of a strong emotional nature. Kindness melted his heart and won his love, and injustice at once aroused his indignation. For the inhabitants of his island home and his native town he ever cherished an affectionate regard. He would walk miles to call on one who had been a parishioner at Edgartown; and every person from his birthplace—whether visiting the Vineyard in pursuit of pleasure or employment—was sure of a cordial welcome to the comforts of his home and the hospitalities of his table.

He was a man of active habits and persevering industry. "I performed," he one day remarked, "one-fifth part of the labor in building my house from the bottom of the cellar to the top of the chimney; and for several years I was the only minister and the only physician on the Island, and I never refused a call to visit the sick or to attend a funeral in either of the three parishes."

Although his situation required a great diversity of cares and labors, he always maintained scholarly habits. He loved books, and enjoyed taxing his mind with close and earnest thinking. His sermons were composed with care. His style was sententious, and his delivery marked by great earnestness.

Simple in his tastes and cautious in his expenditures, with a salary which in these days would be pronounced wholly unequal to the support of a family in any section of New England, Mr. Thaxter managed his affairs so skilfully that he closed his ministry in possession of a moderate competency. Indeed, through life he was free from

those pecuniary embarrassments which not unfrequently depress the spirits, disturb the thoughts, and materially impair the usefulness of the Christian minister. While thus strict as an economist, his spirit was untainted by meanness or avarice. He considered the poor, and cheerfully gave his time and labor for the relief of the suffering.

During the earlier years of his ministry his parish was comparatively large and wealthy. In later life he suffered severely from that variety of opinion which so frequently broke the integrity of the Congregational churches. He looked upon his flock as his family, and the alienation of a member of his congregation he compared to the loss of a child. Efforts had been made to establish a society of another denomination, and a distinguished clergyman went to the island to co-operate in executing the design. Mr. Thaxter was invited to call on this gentleman at the house of a parishioner. After the customary salutations and inquiries he thus addressed the stranger: "Doctor, around me are the parents whom I joined in marriage and the children whom I baptized, for whom I have watched and prayed with the solicitude of a father; and now, sir, if you have come here to embitter the last days of an old man by alienating the affection of his people, I cannot find words strong enough to express my indignation at your purpose."

The following is a list of Dr. Gay's publications:—

A Sermon at the Ordination of Joseph Green, of Barnstable, 1725; Two Lecture Sermons in Hingham, 1728; Artillery Election Sermon, 1728; A Lecture in Hingham on Occasion of the Arrival of Governor Belcher, 1730; A Sermon before several Military Companies in Hingham, 1738; A Sermon at the Ordination of Ebenezer Gay, Jr., Suffield, 1742; A Sermon at the Funeral of the Rev. John Hancock, Braintree, 1744; The Massachusetts Election Sermon, 1745; A Sermon before the Convention of Congregational Ministers in Massachusetts, 1746; A Sermon at the Ordination of Jonathan Mayhew, Boston, 1747; A Sermon at the Ordination of Jonathan Dorby, Scituate, 1751; A Sermon at the Instalment of the Rev. Ezra Carpenter, Keene, 1753; A Sermon at the Instalment of the Rev. Grindall Rawson, Yarmouth, 1755; Dudleian Lecture at Harvard College, 1759; A Sermon on the Death of Dr. Mayhew, 1766; A Sermon at the Ordination, at Hingham, of Caleb Gannett over a Church in Nova Scotia, 1768; Thanksgiving Sermon, 1770; The Old Man's Calendar, 1781.

The foregoing sketch of Dr. Gay is condensed from the account written by Dr. Sprague, and derived chiefly from the funeral sermon preached by Dr. Shute, the appendix to the Old Man's Calendar, and Lincoln's History of Hingham.

The note on Dr. Shute is condensed from a letter to Dr. Sprague from the Hon. Solomon Lincoln; the note on Dr. Barnes from a manuscript from the Rev. Caleb Stetson; the note on Dr. Hitchcock from a manuscript from Rev. John Pierce; the note on Mr. Thaxter from material furnished to Dr. Sprague by his daughter, Mrs. Ahearn. See also Deane's History of Scituate; Dr. Flint's History of the First Parish of Cohasset; and the histories of the First Church in Hingham.

CHARLES CHAUNCY

1705–1787

AND THE MINISTERS OF THE FIRST CHURCH OF BOSTON

Charles Chauncy was a great-grandson of the Rev. Charles Chauncy, who was the second president of Harvard College, and a grandson of the Rev. Isaac Chauncy, who was the minister of Berry Street Meeting-house in London. His father was Charles Chauncy, a prosperous merchant in Boston. His mother was Sarah Walley, daughter of Judge Walley, of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. His inheritances and his social position were therefore of the best. He was born in Boston, January 1, 1705. At the age of seven years he lost his father, but did not want for friends who were disposed to give him the best advantages. He entered Harvard College when he was twelve years old, and graduated in the year 1721.

He soon commenced the study of theology, and in due time received approbation to preach. After the removal of Mr. Wadsworth from the First Church in Boston to the presidency of Harvard College, the attention of that congregation was directed to Mr. Chauncy as a suitable person to be his successor. On the 12th of June, 1727, they voted him a call to settle among them, and on the 25th of October following he was ordained and installed as co-pastor with the Rev. Thomas Foxcroft, the sermon on the occasion, according to the usage of that day, being preached by himself.

The history of the First Church in Boston is the spiritual history of New England and the record of intellectual and religious growth. Its significant de-

velopment in religious opinion began with Chauncy. In all the history of the church there was no dissension about theological beliefs. Change in opinion came gradually and almost imperceptibly. There was simply a more and more generous interpretation of the ancient formulas. There is no record of any theological disaffection or schism during the years of change. The original covenant of the church has never been altered or disavowed, and is still in use.

Chauncy's early ministry attracted little notice, both because he was the young colleague of a famous preacher and also because his sermons were marked by a studious simplicity of speech that was at first unattractive. He appeared to believe that rhetorical adornment was a kind of intellectual dishonesty. The very simplicity and directness of his style, however, made his sermons easy reading, and gave them wide diffusion in the printed form. His meaning was always clear, and the thought stood out the more by reason of the plainness of the verbal garb.

It was, therefore, chiefly as a writer of books and pamphlets that Chauncy influenced the thought of his time. His controversial writing took, in the main, three directions: first, his antagonism to the extravagancies of the "Great Awakening"; then his defence of congregational forms of church government; and, finally, his affirmation of certain theological convictions which were distinctly unorthodox. Through his publications on these themes Dr. Chauncy became the best known of the liberal leaders in the Massachusetts churches before Channing. He was the representative scholar of the earlier liberal movement, as Jonathan Mayhew was the representative orator.

In 1742 he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Edinburgh.

Dr. Chauncy first came prominently into public

notice as a stern opposer of the religious excitement that prevailed in New England and elsewhere in connection with the labors of Whitefield and his coadjutors. His first publication bearing directly on the subject was a sermon on Enthusiasm, in the year 1742. The next year he published an elaborate work, entitled "Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England." In 1744 he published an Ordination Sermon and a Convention Sermon, both of which he designed as Tracts for the Times. The same year he published a Letter to the Rev. George Whitefield, calling on him to defend his conduct or confess his faults; and the next year he addressed a second Letter to him, in the same spirit and of the same decided character. Dr. Chauncy, though he did not by any means stand alone in his views of the then existing state of things, differed from the majority of his brethren in contemplating the case as one of unmixed evil. The other Boston ministers saw very much to disapprove and deplore, while yet they seem to have admitted the substantial genuineness of the work; but Dr. Chauncy regarded it as essentially evil, and opposed it with all the energy which he could command.

In 1747 Dr. Chauncy preached the Annual Sermon before the legislature of Massachusetts. In this sermon he expatiated, with great plainness and force, on some of the evils of the day, and particularly on the injustice which had been done to his professional brethren, in their having been allowed to suffer so severely from the fluctuations of the circulating medium. His remarks were received with little favor by a portion at least of the legislature, and they even debated whether, according to custom, they should print the sermon. The doctor, being informed of this, sharply replied, "It shall be printed, whether the General Court print

it or not. And do you, sir" (addressing himself to his informant), "say from me that, if I wanted to initiate and instruct a person into all kinds of iniquity and double dealing, I would send him to our General Court."

In May, 1762, he delivered the Dudleian Lecture at Harvard College on "The Validity of Presbyterian Ordination Asserted and Maintained." This discourse attracted great attention, and was the cause of a controversy in which Dr. Chauncy successfully championed the freedom of the churches. In 1767 he published "Remarks upon a Sermon of the Bishop of Landaff," in which he expressed his fears that the appointment of bishops for America, as was then proposed, would be followed by attempts to promote Episcopacy by force. He then adds, "It may be relied on, our people would not be easy, if restrained in the exercise of that liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free; yea, they would hazard everything dear to them—their estates, their very lives—rather than to suffer their necks to be put under that yoke of bondage which was so sadly galling to their fathers, and occasioned their retreat into this distant land, that they might enjoy the freedom of men and Christians." His book on church polity, entitled "A Complete View of Episcopacy," was published in 1771.

Dr. Chauncy was an active patriot during the exciting scenes of the Revolution. In 1774 he published a Letter to a Friend, detailing the privations and hardships to which the people of Boston had been, or were likely to be, subjected by the oppressive policy of the British Parliament; and this pamphlet was but an index to the spirit which animated him during the whole Revolutionary struggle.

In a sermon entitled "All Nations Blessed in Christ," preached at the ordination of the Rev. Joseph Bow-

man, in 1762, he first shadowed forth the doctrine, which he afterwards more openly defended, of the final salvation of all men. It is said that this had been with him a subject of severe and earnest thought during the greater part of his ministry; but it was not until the year 1784 that he finally published the results of his inquiry in a work entitled "The Mystery hid from Ages, or the Salvation of All Men." He published one or two other books, about the same time, bearing upon the same subject.

In these works he affirmed the restoration of all souls, denied the Calvinistic doctrines about future punishment, and questioned the doctrine of the Trinity. Though he knew himself to be unorthodox on these points, he, nevertheless, felt himself in sympathy with the prevalent theology of his own age and neighborhood. Theologically, he was always a difficult man to classify. Academic in style and moderate in expression, he was never an extremist. His unconsciousness of the inevitable consequences of his convictions was typical of the early stages of the movement that ultimately became known as Unitarian.

In July, 1778, Dr. Chauncy received the Rev. John Clarke* as his colleague, and was thereby relieved in

*John Clarke (1755–98), a son of John and Sarah Clarke, was born at Portsmouth, N.H., April 13, 1755. The father was a sea-captain, the mother was a daughter of Deacon Timothy Pickering and sister of Colonel Timothy Pickering. He graduated at Harvard in 1774 at the age of nineteen, and after leaving college taught for some time, devoting his leisure hours to the study of theology. From his first appearance in the pulpit he took his place among the more popular preachers of the day. He was ordained and installed as colleague with Dr. Chauncy on the 8th of July, 1778. With Dr. Chauncy he lived, as a son with a father, in the most respecful and affectionate intimacy, for nine years, when he became sole pastor of the church, and he continued his labors with undiminished acceptance until his death. On the last day of March, 1798, in the midst of his afternoon service, he fell in his pulpit in a fit of apo-

a measure from public labor. He, however, continued to occupy the pulpit, a part of the time, almost to the close of his life. He died February 10, 1787, in the eighty-third year of his age and the sixtieth of his ministry. The sermon at his interment was delivered by his colleague, the Rev. Mr. Clarke.

Dr. Chauncy was three times married. His first

plexy, was borne to his dwelling, and died at three o'clock the next morning, having nearly completed the forty-third year of his age and the twentieth of his ministry. His funeral was attended on the Friday following (April 6), and a sermon preached on the occasion by Dr. Thacher, of Brattle Street Church. On the Sabbath following Dr. Willard, president of Harvard College, preached to the bereaved congregation.

Dr. Clarke was an active friend and patron of most of the excellent institutions, both literary and religious, which existed in Boston in his day. He was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences from its commencement, a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, a trustee of the Humane Society, one of the original founders of the Boston Library, a corresponding member of the Board of Commissioners in Scotland for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians of North America, etc.

Probably the most important work which Dr. Clarke published was his "Answer to the Question, 'Why are you a Christian?'" It is a condensed and powerful argument for the truth of Christianity, and passed through several editions in Great Britain, as well as in this country. His "Letters to a Student at the University of Cambridge" (understood to be his cousin, the Hon. John Pickering) was designed for a manual for a young man during his college course. His other works published during his lifetime consist of four sermons,—one at the interment of the Rev. Samuel Cooper, D.D., 1783; one at the interment of the Rev. Charles Chauncy, D.D., 1787; one at the interment of Nathaniel W. Appleton, M.D., 1795; and one before the Humane Society, 1793. Two volumes of his Sermons were published after his death: the first, of a miscellaneous character, in 1799; the second, addressed particularly to the young, in 1814.

Dr. Clarke was married to Esther, daughter of Timothy Orne, of Salem. They had four children, two sons and two daughters.

Dr. Francis Parkman, who in his boyhood attended the First Church under Dr. Clarke's ministry, wrote of him:—

wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Judge Grove Hirst and grand-daughter of the first Chief Justice Sewall, by whom he had three children,—one son and two daughters. His second marriage was on the 8th of January, 1738, to Elizabeth Townsend; and his third was on the 15th of January, 1760, to Mary, daughter of David Stoddard. There were no children by either of the two last marriages.

"Dr. Clarke was distinguished beyond most of the clergy of his day by the frequency, freedom, and friendliness of his intercourse with his people. He was a great favorite with society at large; but his own parishioners he visited not only as a pastor, but as a neighbor, brother, and friend. Never losing sight of the decorum and meek dignity becoming his profession, ever ready to avail himself of opportunities as they naturally arose of spiritual counsel, which he preferred to suggest rather than enforce, and happy to listen as well as to speak, his visits were divested of a merely official character, and hence were most cordially welcomed by the young as well as the old. There were those who silently contrasted them with the inflictions of some of his elder brethren, whose approach to the house was regarded as a signal for the dispersion for all the younger members of the family.

"I can easily imagine that something like this would have been the experience of that far-famed divine, Dr. Chauncy, who, as tradition informs us, was accustomed to make his pastoral visits, which were short and far between, in an ancient chaise, driven by a negro servant quite as ancient, sitting on a leathern seat in front, and concerning whom divers memorable anecdotes are related. Now it seems to us of these days highly probable that, with all possible respect for that 'famous divine,' such visitations, especially if made, as was his wont, on a Monday morning, to the humbler families of the flock, interrupting the domestic engagements of that peculiar season, would minister to constraint rather than to delight; and yet the more, if this thoughtful theologian, whose mind was apt to be with his books, even when present bodily with his friends, should happen to be in one of his seasons of abstraction, or, yet worse, in one of those turns of testy humor incident to mortal man amidst pressing engagements, and from which faithful biographers have told us that even Dr. Chauncy was not wholly exempt.

"The announcement of a visit from Dr. Clarke to a family of his flock diffused joy through the whole house, especially if the hour

Dr. John Eliot, who in the early part of his life was contemporary with Dr. Chauncy, wrote thus concerning him:—

"Dr. Chauncy was one of the greatest divines in New England. No one, except President Edwards and the late Dr. Mayhew, has been so much known among the literati of Europe or printed more books upon theological subjects. He took great delight in

was such as to encourage the hope that he would remain to tea. The elders greeted him as a son, the daughters sat looking with complacency upon his undeniably plain but most benignant countenance, listening lovingly, though reverently, to the gentle and cheerful wisdom of his lips, while the young children were too happy to be taken upon his knees; and, when he was gone, they all talked together, the young and the old, of the delightful visit, of the kindness of his looks, of his pleasant and instructive words, and began to count up the weeks that must pass before he would come again.

"Dr. Clarke's published sermons do not by any means account for all the popularity he had as a preacher. In order fully to understand this, we must take into view the times in which he lived, when the general strain of the pulpit differed widely from the present; his own time of life, which even at its close had scarcely reached its meridian; the tones of his voice, melodious even to a certain warbling; his pure, condensed, and classic style, then attained by few, not even sought by many; and perhaps, above them all, the loving hearts of his hearers, assuring for him a welcome wherever he appeared and a delighted acceptance of all he uttered. In addition to this, it is to be remembered that, when he was ordained in 1778, in the twenty-third year of his age, he was among the very few young men then in the Boston Association. The pulpits of both the city and vicinity were occupied for the most part by elderly clergymen, whose voices had become familiar, whose divisions of their discourses were many and formal, and whose lives—surely not to their dishonor, may it be said —were more eloquent than their lips. Dr. Chauncy, the senior pastor of the church, had almost reached his threescore years and ten when he received a colleague, and with gifts and learning that gave him renown in all the churches could hardly have been attractive to the young.

"The spirit of a man, or his prevailing turn, may sometimes be discovered by trivial circumstances, especially in the conduct of his profession. In a clergyman it may be not obscurely exhibited by

studying the Scriptures. Feeling the sacred obligations of morality, he impressed them upon the minds of others in the most rational and evangelical manner. When he preached upon the faith of the gospel, he *reasoned* of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come. It was said that he wanted the graces of delivery and taste in composition. But it was his object to deliver the most sublime truths in simplicity of

his choice of texts on particular occasions. This was signally exemplified in one instance by Dr. Chauncy and his youthful colleague. The workhouse in Boston was the abode of subjects, both male and female, who were sentenced to imprisonment and labor. Now to the inmates of this dwelling it was customary for the clergy of the town to preach in turn on Sunday evenings. Accordingly, the two colleagues, Dr. Chauncy and Mr. Clarke, officiated with other brethren; and the texts selected by these gentlemen were highly characteristic. Mr. Clarke, addressing himself chiefly to the frailer portion of his hearers, exhibited for his text and their instruction a part of Solomon's well-known description of a virtuous woman, 'She layeth her hands to the spindle, and her hands hold the distaff' (Proverbs xxxi. 19). When Dr. Chauncy came, fixing his regards chiefly upon the male portion of his audience, and not suffering from any excess of sympathy with the other, he preached from the words of the apostle to the Thessalonians, 'If any would not work, neither should he eat.'"

The succession in the ministry of the First Church was a highly honorable one. Without conscious change the church grew more and more liberal, and, while never claiming any particular denominational allegiance, was inevitably classed as Unitarian. After Dr. Clarke came:—

(1) William Emerson (1769–1811) was the only son of the Rev. William Emerson, of Concord, and grandson of the Rev. Joseph Emerson, of Malden. He was born at Concord on the 6th of May, 1769. From early life he was intended for the ministry; and, when his mother married the Rev. Ezra Ripley, successor to his father, his mind was easily led in that direction. He entered Harvard College when he was in his seventeenth year. He graduated in 1789, and in the same year delivered an oration before the Society of Phi Beta Kappa, which procured for him no little applause.

Immediately after leaving the university he engaged in teaching a school in Roxbury, where he remained two years, and then went to

speech, and he never therefore studied to have his periods polished with rhetorical figures. His favorite authors were Tillotson of the Episcopal Church and Baxter among the Puritans. For he preferred the rich vein of sentiment in the sermons of the English divines to that tinsel of French declamation so fashionable in our modern way of preaching. Upon some occasions, however, Dr. Chauncy could raise his feeble

Cambridge as a theological student; but he had been there but a few months before he began preaching, and, after having for a short time preached as a candidate at Harvard, Mass., he received a call to the church there. This call he accepted, and was ordained May 23, 1792.

In 1799 he was invited to Boston to preach the Artillery Election Sermon. This service he performed to very great acceptance, and the congregation of the First Church almost immediately extended to him a unanimous call. He accepted, and was installed pastor October 16, 1799. The sermon on the occasion was preached by his friend and college classmate, the Rev. Nathaniel Thayer, of Lancaster.

In May, 1808, he was seized with a violent hemorrhage of the lungs, from which for a time he recovered, and was able to perform nearly his accustomed amount of labor. A malady of a different kind seized upon him in the winter of 1810–11, and he died on Sunday, the 12th of May, 1811. His funeral took place on the 16th, and the sermon on the occasion was preached by the Rev. J. S. Buckminster.

Mr. Emerson was married to Ruth Haskins, of Boston, who survived him. They had eight children, six of whom survived him.

In his personal appearance Mr. Emerson was much more than ordinarily attractive. He had a melodious voice, his utterance was distinct, and his whole manner in the pulpit agreeable. In his devotional exercises he was fluent and appropriate. His public discourses had the appearance of considerable elaboration, but they were never elaborated into obscurity. He could not endure a careless and desultory manner of writing.

In his theological views it was supposed that he went farther on the liberal side than most of his brethren with whom he was associated. His son, Ralph Waldo Emerson, made, however, in 1849 a study of his father's sermons, and wrote: "I did not find in any manuscript or printed sermon any very explicit statement of opinion on the question between Calvinists and Socinians. He inclines ob-

voice, and manifest a vigor and animation which would arrest the attention of the most careless hearer, and have a deeper effect than the oratory which is thought by many to be *irresistibly* persuasive. At all times he was argumentative and perspicuous, and made an admirable practical use of the sentiments he delivered."

The following sketch of Dr. Chauncy is from an

viously to what is ethical and universal in Christianity, very little to the personal and historical."

The Rev. Charles Lowell wrote of him:—

"Mr. Emerson was a handsome man, rather tall, with a fair complexion, his cheeks slightly tinted, his motions easy, graceful, and gentlemanlike, his manners bland and pleasant. He was an honest man, and expressed himself decidedly and emphatically, but never bluntly or vulgarly. He had the organ of order very fully developed, —he was one of those who have 'a place for everything, and everything in its place.' In that respect he differed from that admirable man, who was his classmate and friend, John Thornton Kirkland, who never had anything in order, but always found what was wanted, whose manuscript sermons in the pulpit were in separate pieces, but he always found the right piece, and that was better than almost any of his brethren could have found in what they had written with twice the labor."

The following is a list of Mr. Emerson's publications:—

A Sermon preached at Harvard on the 4th of July, 1794; A Sermon at the Artillery Election, Boston, 1799; A Sermon before the Roxbury Charitable Society, 1800; A Sermon at the Ordination of Robinson Smiley at Springfield, Vt., 1801; An Oration pronounced at Boston on the 4th of July, 1802; A Sermon on the Death of the Rev. Peter Thacher, D.D., 1802; A Sermon at the Ordination of Thomas Bedee, 1803; A Sermon on the Death of Madam Bowdoin, 1803; A Sermon before the Boston Female Asylum, 1805; A Sermon on the Death of Charles Austin, 1806; A Discourse before the Humane Society, 1807; The First, Second, Third, and Seventh Discourses in the Fourth Number of the Christian Monitor, with Prayers annexed to each Discourse, 1808; A Selection of Psalms and Hymns, embracing all the Varieties of Subject and Metre Suitable for Private Devotion and the Worship of the Churches, 1808; A Sermon at the Ordination of Samuel Clark, 1810; History of the First Church in Boston (posthumous).

"Historical Sketch of the First Church in Boston" by Rev. William Emerson, one of Dr. Chauncy's successors:—

"He had no taste for rhetorical studies. So little versed in poetry was he that he is said to have wished that somebody would translate the 'Paradise Lost' of Milton into prose that he might understand it. He loved nature, simplicity, and truth, and looked upon

(2) John Lovejoy Abbot (1783–1814), the eldest son of John Lovejoy and Phœbe Abbot, was born in Andover, Mass., on the 29th of November, 1783. His father was a farmer, and was desirous that the son should be a farmer also; but he yielded to the son's wishes, which were decidedly in favor of a liberal education. Accordingly, he was fitted for college at Phillips Academy, Andover, entered at Harvard in the year 1801, and graduated with honor in 1805. He then returned to his father's, and studied under the direction of the Rev. Jonathan French, who was at that time the minister of the congregation to which his parents belonged. After a short time, however, he went back to Cambridge, and was employed as a proctor, while at the same time he pursued his theological studies under Dr. Henry Ware. In 1811 he was appointed librarian of the college, and held the office about two years.

He was licensed to preach (it is believed by the Boston Association) and was ordained and installed minister of the First Church on the 14th of July, 1813, the sermon on the occasion being preached by the Rev. Dr. Ware, from Acts xxvi. 17, 18. On the 24th of October following he was married to Elizabeth Bell, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth (Bell) Warland, of Cambridge.

He had preached but two or three Sabbaths after his ordination when he was attacked by pulmonary disease, and never preached again.

He sailed from New Bedford for Lisbon on the 29th of November, and returned about the 10th of June following (1814). His homeward passage, besides being very long (fifty-seven days), was very tempestuous, so that, when he reached home, he had lost all the strength which he had gained during his six months' absence.

He died at Andover, October 17, 1814. His funeral was held at the church in Chauncy Place on the 20th, on which occasion an address was delivered by the Rev. Edward Everett, then of the Brattle Street Church, which was afterwards published. Another tribute to his memory in the form of a "Monody," by John Lathrop,

the art of rhetoric rather as an inflamer of the passions and a perverter of reason than as an instrument of good to mankind. His aversion, indeed, was so rooted towards the noisy and foaming fanatics of his time, and his attachment so strong to Taylor, Tillotson, and writers of that stamp, that in the company of friends, as is reported of him, he would sometimes beseech God never to make him an orator. One of his acquaintances, hearing this report, remarked that his prayer

Jr., appeared about the same time. The widow of Mr. Abbot was subsequently married to Dr. Manning, of Cambridge.

(3) Nathaniel Langdon Frothingham (1793–1870) was born in Boston, July 23, 1793. He graduated with honor at Harvard College in 1811 in the class with Edward Everett and Samuel Gilman and others of subsequent fame. After teaching awhile in the Boston Latin School, he became, when only nineteen years of age, instructor in rhetoric and oratory in Harvard College. Besides this teaching he studied theology, and in 1815 was ordained minister of the First Church in Boston, where he remained for thirty-five years, resigning in consequence of ill-health in 1850. He married Ann Gorham, daughter of Peter C. Brooks, of Boston. The degree of Doctor of Divinity was given him by Harvard College in 1836. He was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Academy of Arts and Sciences, and many other learned societies. He died in Boston in 1870.

Dr. Frothingham was the author of many published sermons and of articles in the *Christian Examiner*, the *North American Review*, and other periodicals. He was also a noteworthy writer of hymns and other metrical pieces, and his hymns have found their way into the collections of every Christian denomination. "All who knew Dr. Frothingham," it was written of him just after his death, "recognized in him the most courteous gentleman, the finished scholar, the man of exquisite tastes, the refined, instructive, pleasing, and able preacher, the sweet poet, his lips moist with the dew now of Parnassus and now of Hermon, as he followed his charming muse from classical to holy land, himself equally at home in both." His biography, together with a graphic and accurate picture of the life of the churches and ministers of his time, is contained in the volume entitled "Boston Unitarianism," written by his son, Rev. O. B. Frothingham.

(4) Rufus Ellis. See Vol. III. p. 103.

was unequivocally granted. Yet I have been informed by one of his hearers, who is an excellent judge of sermons, that Dr. Chauncy was by no means an indifferent speaker, that his emphases were always laid with propriety, often with happy effect, and that his general manner was that of a plain, earnest preacher, solicitous for the success of his labors. He ordinarily entered on his task, whether of composing or of delivery, apparently without much nerve, as a laborer commences his daily toil, uttering a deal of common truths in a common way. But he had always a design, which he kept clearly and steadily in view, until it was prudently and thoroughly executed."

Of Dr. Chauncy's personal characteristics Dr. Howard, of Springfield, wrote:—

"He was, like Zaccheus, little of stature, and, like Saint Paul, his letters were powerful. God gave him a slender, feeble body, a very powerful, vigorous mind, and strong passions, and he managed them all exceedingly well. His manners were plain and downright, dignified, bold, and imposing. In conversation with his friends he was pleasant, social and very instructive. Bigotry and superstition found no quarter with him. In whatever garb they approached, they were sure to be detected and rebuked. His attitude and tone of voice in the desk were dignified, solemn, impressive, and positive. They seemed to say, 'I know that what I am delivering is true and highly important to your souls.' The doctor was remarkably temperate in his diet and exercise. At twelve o'clock he took one pinch of snuff, and only one in twenty-four hours. At one o'clock he dined on one dish of plain, wholesome food, and after dinner took one glass of wine and one pipe of tobacco, and only one in twenty-four hours. And he was equally methodical in his exercise, which consisted chiefly or wholly in walking. I said, 'Doctor,

you live by rule.' 'If I did not,' he replied, 'I should not live at all.'"

The list of Dr. Chauncy's publications can be found in the Bibliotheca Chaunciana, compiled by Paul Leicester Ford, and enumerating the titles of sixty-one books and pamphlets written by him and of eighty-eight about him or in reply to him.

See also, for accounts of his life and work, Dr. Clarke's Discourse at the Interment of the Rev. Charles Chauncy, February 15, 1787; Mr. Emerson's Historical Sketch of the First Church in Boston, pp. 173–214; S. Osgood on Edwards and Chauncy in the *Christian Examiner*, May, 1848; William Chauncey Fowler's sketch in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Boston, October, 1856, vol. x. pp. 324–336; M. C. Tyler's History of American Literature, vol. ii. pp. 199–203; A. B. Ellis's History of the First Church in Boston, pp. 187–208; Williston Walker's Ten New England Leaders, pp. 267–310; William H. Lyon's Charles Chauncy, Boston, 1903; Unitarian Origin and History, p. 159; and Cooke's Unitarianism in America, pp. 66–69.

The account of Dr. Chauncy in this volume is abridged from Dr. Sprague's sketch, which was derived chiefly from Dr. Clarke's Funeral Sermon. Dr. Sprague's account of Dr. Clarke was based on Dr. Thacher's Funeral Sermon. The sketch of Mr. Emerson is abridged from a manuscript furnished by Dr. John Pierce, and that of Mr. Abbot from manuscripts sent to Dr. Sprague by various friends.

JONATHAN MAYHEW

1720–1766

AND THE MINISTERS OF THE WEST CHURCH IN BOSTON

Jonathan Mayhew was a son of the Rev. Experience Mayhew,* of Martha's Vineyard, where he was born, October 8, 1720. He was a descendant, in the fourth generation, from Thomas Mayhew, the first

* Experience Mayhew was born on Martha's Vineyard, January 27, 1673. His father, John Mayhew, his grandfather, Thomas Mayhew, and his great-grandfather, the first Thomas Mayhew, had been missionaries to the Indians on the island. In 1694 he succeeded to their labors in charge of some six or eight Indian congregations, continuing for sixty-four years, until his death on November 29, 1758, when he in turn was succeeded by his son Zachariah, who served until his death in 1806, making five generations of Mayhews engaged for one hundred and sixty years in the same task. Experience Mayhew was the most widely known of this notable

English settler and proprietor of that island. In early life he gave indications of great vigor of mind and an unyielding firmness of purpose, and under the influence of a Christian education imbibed a deep reverence for religion, without, however, as it would seem, at any time receiving the doctrines of the accredited orthodox creed. Of the particulars of his childhood and early youth no record now remains; but it seems probable that he fitted for college under the instruction of his father. While young Mayhew was an undergraduate at Cambridge, he made a visit to York, in Maine, at the time of a great revival in that place; and it would seem that the observations which he made then had much to do in giving direction to his feeling and speech about the irrational extravagance in religion ever afterwards. He graduated with honor in 1744, being then twenty-four years of age.

During the three years immediately subsequent to his leaving college, he seems to have been engaged part of the time in teaching, part of the time in the study of theology at Cambridge, and it is thought that he spent a short time also in the family of Dr. Gay, of Hingham.

His earliest efforts in the pulpit excited no inconsiderable attention. The church in Cohasset soon gave him a call to settle among them, but he declined

family until the short and brilliant career of his son Jonathan. As early as 1698 Cotton Mather spoke of Mayhew as ministering to some three thousand Christian Indians, adding that in this work "there is no man that exceeds this Mr. Mayhew, if there be any that equals him." His famous book on "Indian Converts" was published in 1727. Though not a college-bred man, he had a high reputation for learning, and was much resorted to by young men studying for the ministry. Harvard gave him an honorary degree in 1723. The breadth of his theological views may be discovered in the fact that his sons and many of his pupils were later found on the liberal side, and also in the opinions expressed in a book, "Grace Defended," published in 1743, in opposition to the teachings of Whitefield.

it. On the 6th of March, 1747, the West Church in Boston invited him to become their pastor. From its origin in 1737 the West Church had been suspected of liberal tendencies by the stricter Puritans of the neighboring churches. Its first minister, William Hooper, for whom or by whom the church was gathered, was certainly not a Calvinist in his theology. In one of his Thursday Lectures he gave great offence to his brother ministers, who subjected him to intolerant criticism on account of what they deemed his heresies concerning the divine nature. Stung by their arbitrary indictment, he withdrew to the fellowship of the Church of England, and was afterwards the rector of Trinity Church in Boston. His son, a Harvard graduate, was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Hooper had not failed to communicate his own instinctive independence of mind and breadth of vision to his people of the West Church; and, in their choice of Mayhew to be his successor, they virtually challenged the stricter churches to the controversy which soon ensued.

On the day first appointed for the ordination only two of the clergymen invited were in attendance, owing, as it was understood, to rumors about the theological unsoundness of the candidate. Those two did not think proper to proceed, but advised the calling of another and a larger council. This advice was complied with. A council consisting of fourteen ministers, not one of whom, however, was from Boston, was convoked; and ten of these assembled on the 17th of June, and harmoniously inducted the candidate into office. Most of the members of the council who were present were reckoned among the "liberal" men of that day, though there must have been considerable difference in their religious views; and Dr. Appleton (of Cambridge) at least was understood

to sympathize doctrinally with the stricter school. The sermon on the occasion was preached by Dr. Gay, of Hingham, and the charge was given by the father of Mr. Mayhew.

That Mayhew's liberal opinions were already considered heretical may be inferred not only from the fact that no Boston minister took part in his ordination, but from another equally significant circumstance; namely, that he never became a member of the Boston Association of Congregational Ministers. It was customary to apply for admission; but it is presumed that he never applied, as no record of any such application appears in the minutes. In consequence of this he did not join with the other ministers of Boston in maintaining the Thursday Lecture, though he soon set up a Weekly Lecture in his own church which excited great attention, and attracted many people from other churches in the town. Most of the discourses which were preached on these occasions were subsequently published. In a letter which he wrote to his father, not long after his settlement, he says, "The clergy of the town stand aloof from me, and I have to study hard, so that I cannot soon visit you as I intended and desired." This practical exclusion from orthodox fellowship was not without justification, for Mayhew's opinions were certainly alien to the prevailing theology of New England. He was a thorough radical, a redoubtable pioneer. From his pulpit, two years after his settlement, his friend, young Lemuel Briant, of Braintree (Quincy), preached the sermon that John Adams called the first gun of the Unitarian controversy. If that sermon was the signal gun, Mayhew's discourses in the succeeding years were a whole battery of heavy artillery. He did not practise the reticence which marked so many of his contemporaries who really shared many of his convictions. He spoke out with

fearless candor and tremendous force. He was, as described by one of his successors, the "first preacher in Boston of an untrinitarian God, most potent clerical asserter in America of civil and religious freedom, . . . a master-workman, Christ-like, who broke down the partition wall between secular and religious affairs, peerless in intellect, . . . a communicant who, fresh from the table of the Lord's Supper, wrote to James Otis: "Communion of churches! Why not communion of the colonies?"

If Dr. Gay diffused liberal sentiments by personal intercourse and Dr. Chauncy by his voluminous publications, Dr. Mayhew was the orator of the movement towards the reaffirmation of pure Christianity. When Dr. John G. Palfrey, the historian of New England, was asked to name the representative American orator whose statue should stand with those of Demosthenes, Cicero, and Chatham in the decoration of a public building, he answered, "Jonathan Mayhew." Robert Treat Paine declared him the father of civil and religious liberty in America. Dr. Bartol called him "the great American divine. Others have doubtless excelled him in particular points, as Edwards in metaphysical talent and Hopkins in application to theological studies, Channing in extent of moral reflection, Buckminster in peculiar charms of speech; but, in broad relation to the public welfare, in power to unseal the fountains of influence into rivers which, like mountain streams, determine the very shape and fashion of a country, he conspicuously transcended them all. . . . For grandeur of aim and mighty will to bring to pass his purposes put him in the first rank of human spirits."

But, while Mayhew by temperament and by opportunity was chiefly influential as an orator, yet he was also a reformer, a scholar, and a trenchant writer on

themes both theological and political. It is by his books and his controversial pamphlets that the generations that know not the charm of his personality and the power of his speech must chiefly discover his quality. His writings clearly indicate the extent of his departure from the prevalent theology of his time.

In 1755 he published a volume of sermons on the "Doctrines of Grace." At the end of the volume is a sermon on the shortness of life, in which there is a note on the doctrine of the Trinity, which betrayed the fact that he had become a Unitarian. Dr. Mayhew was, at this time, scribe of the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers. When the scribe was to be appointed the next year, some member of the body rose, and objected to the re-election of Dr. Mayhew. Said another member, "There is no danger of his getting any Arianism into the minutes of the convention." "Not into the text, but he will foist it into some note," was the reply.

In 1762 Dr. Mayhew published two sermons delivered on the day of public Thanksgiving, on "The Extent of the Divine Goodness," in which he put forth views startlingly modern in scope and tone. The Rev. John Cleaveland, of Ipswich, the next year published "Strictures" on these discourses, which Mayhew and his friends pronounced to be destitute alike of truth and candor. Mayhew wrote a pamphlet of considerable length in reply, in which he pours upon his unfortunate adversary such a torrent of invective as is rarely to be met with in the records of theological controversy.

The next year the Rev. East Apthorp published a pamphlet entitled "Considerations on the Institution and Conduct of the Society for Propagating the Gospel," which occasioned a violent controversy, in which Mayhew bore a prominent part. He wrote a pamphlet

entitled "Observations on the Character and Conduct of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts," etc. This was answered by several members of the society in America and by Dr. Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury. Mayhew replied to a pamphlet entitled "A Candid Examination of Observations," etc. This was again answered in an anonymous tract, and this again drew from Mayhew a second defence of his "Observations," which, though sufficiently pungent, was less scathing than the preceding one.

In these writings are to be discovered almost all the fundamental principles of modern liberalism, an ardent passion for liberty of conscience and of speech, a vindication of the right of private judgment, an affirmation of character as the only test of faith. Of Calvinism there is practically none, but in its place a free, generous treatment of Scripture, a reaffirmation of the teaching of Jesus, an almost transcendental idea of God, which is a constant surprise to readers who belong to a generation prone to believe that its cherished liberalism is of modern origin. Dr. James Freeman, thirty years afterwards the minister of the first avowedly Unitarian church in Boston, stated that Mayhew had anticipated him in all his theological conclusions. His daughter testified that "there is no doubt . . . of his having asserted the Unity of God, in the most unequivocal manner, as early as the year 1753"; and she quotes passages from unpublished sermons which declare this belief explicitly.

But Jonathan Mayhew was not only the foremost pulpit orator of New England and a pioneer of religious freedom, he was also the fervent patriot, the torchbearer who lighted the fires of his country's liberties. He was not only the associate, but the inspirer of the leaders of the patriot cause in the days before the

Revolution. James Otis, John and Samuel Adams, James Bowdoin, John Hancock, and Robert Treat Paine were among his intimate friends. He was also the best known of the American Whigs in England, and through an extensive correspondence did much to influence the opinions and actions of the enlightened Englishmen who opposed the arbitrary course of the British government.

In June, 1766, Dr. Mayhew addressed a letter to James Otis, showing the deep interest which he took in the political state of the country, and how important he considered it that a good understanding should be maintained among the different colonies. In this letter he states incidentally his intention to set out for Rutland the next morning, to assist at an ecclesiastical council. The meeting of the council was on the 10th of June, and he attended and officiated as scribe. The matters referred to the adjudication of the council were of a perplexing nature, tasking in a high degree the feelings as well as the wisdom of its members. Dr. Mayhew returned home in wet weather and on horseback, fatigued in body and mind, and was almost immediately seized with a violent fever. He died on the 9th of July, in the forty-sixth year of his age. Dr. Lowell states the following circumstance: "When all hope of his recovery was gone, Dr. Cooper, an orthodox neighbor, said to him, 'Tell me, dear sir, if you retain the sentiments which you have taught, and what are your views?' With firmness, though with difficulty, he said, taking him affectionately by the hand, 'I hold fast mine integrity, and it shall not depart from me.'" Dr. Chauncy prayed at his funeral, and it is said to have been the first prayer ever offered at a funeral in Boston, so scrupulous were our fathers to avoid what might seem the least approach to the practice of praying

for the dead. Dr. Chauncy preached a funeral sermon on the following Sabbath, and in a fortnight from that time another was preached by the Rev. Dr. Gay.

In 1756 Dr. Mayhew, at the age of thirty-five, was married to Elizabeth, daughter of John Clark, Esq., of Boston, a lady remarkable for her beauty and accomplishments. After he paid his addresses to her, an attempt was made to prevent the wedding by means of representations to her parents of his being unsound in the faith, but the marriage proved an exceedingly happy one. Dr. Mayhew left two children. His widow was afterwards married to his successor, the Rev. Dr. Howard.*

The following is an extract from the funeral sermon preached by Dr. Chauncy:—

> The Father of spirits was pleased in his distinguishing goodness to favor Dr. Mayhew with superior mental powers. Few surpassed him, either in the quickness of his apprehension, the clearness of his perception, the readiness of his invention, the brightness of his imagination, the comprehension of his understanding, or the soundness of his judgment. And, together with these gifts of God, he was endowed with a singular greatness of mind, fortitude of spirit, and yet softness and benevolence of temper, all which, being enlarged and strengthened by a good education and the opportunity of free converse with men and books, soon qualified him to make a considerable figure in the world, as he was hereby enabled to speak and write with that freedom of thought, that justness of method, that strength of argument, that facility of expression, that liveliness of fancy, that purity of diction, and that apparent concern for the good of mankind which procured him a name both here and abroad which will be remembered with honor long after his body is crumbled into dust. It was this that made way for his correspondence beyond the

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* Simeon Howard (1733–1804) was a native of Bridgewater, and was born April 29 (O.S.), 1733. He entered Harvard College in 1754, and, having maintained through his whole course a high standing for scholarship, graduated with distinguished honor in 1758. Having received approbation to preach, he was invited to labor for a time in Cumberland, N.S. Here he made many friends, and

great waters, which was daily increasing; and, had the wisdom of God seen fit to have continued him in life, it might have been of great service to his country as well as himself, if we may judge from what it has already been.

He was eminently a friend to liberty, both civil and religious, and, if his zeal at any time betrayed him into too great a severity of expression, it was against the attempts of those who would make slaves either of men's souls or bodies. He nobly claimed that which he esteemed equally the right of others,—the liberty of thinking for himself; and he made use of all proper helps in order to his thinking right. He was an avowed enemy to all human establishments in religion, especially the establishment of mere ceremonial rights as necessary to Christian communion. And, as he esteemed this a direct usurpation of that right which is proper only to Jesus Christ, the only supreme Head of the Christian Church, it may be an excuse for him if he has ever expressed himself with too great a degree of asperity upon this head.

Besides what has been said, those acquainted with the doctor must have observed that manliness of spirit, that friendliness of disposition, that freedom and cheerfulness of temper, which rendered him agreeable to those who had the opportunity of conversing with him. They must also have seen his amiable behavior in the several relations of life. As a husband, how faithful and kind! As a father, how tender and affectionate! As a master, how just and equal! knowing that he had a Master in heaven. As a friend, how true to his professions! with what confidence to be trusted in! As a neighbor, how ready to all the offices of love and goodness! Instead of being deficient, he rather exceeded in the acts of his liberality and charity. As a minister, how diligent, how laborious, how skilful! making it his care to contrive his discourses so as to inform the mind and touch the heart, so as at once to entertain and profit both the learned and the illiterate, the polite and less cultivated hearer. Few were able to compose their sermons with so much ease and yet so much pertinence; and few preached with greater constancy, or took occasion more frequently from occurrences in the conduct of Providence to make what they said seasonable and profitable to their hearers.

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they would gladly have detained him permanently among them, but in 1765 he returned to Cambridge to prosecute his studies as a resident graduate. In February, 1767, he was unanimously invited to become the pastor of the West Church. He was ordained on the 6th of May following, and the sermon on the occasion was preached by Dr. Chauncy.

The ministry of Dr. Howard in Boston was painfully interrupted by the Revolution. While the British troops were in possession of the town, the house in which he preached was turned into a barrack, and his congregation scattered in every direction. Having many friends in Nova Scotia, and having been once or twice applied to to send them a minister, he proposed to some of his parishioners, who seemed disheartened by a view of the sad state of things, to retire with him thither for a refuge; and, though he was scarcely serious at the moment in making the proposal, they in their despondency instantly fell in with it, and the arrangements were quickly made for their departure. As Dr. Howard was known to be a decided Whig, it was not without some difficulty that he obtained permission to leave the country. He, however, at length succeeded, and after a tedious voyage of a month arrived with his friends at Annapolis Royal. They found the inhabitants in a state of want, almost approaching starvation; and yet they were received with great kindness, and as much hospitality as the distressing pressure of the time would permit. They soon passed on to the place of their destination, which was eighteen miles up the river, where also the people, though greatly straitened for the necessaries of life, met them with every expression of good will, and provided them with the best accommodations they could furnish.

Shortly after his arrival he was arrested, and carried to Halifax, in consequence, as was supposed, of a letter written by General Gage to the governor of the province after Mr. Howard's application to go to Nova Scotia had been refused, and from an apprehension that he might make his escape privately. After his request was granted, the governor wrote a second letter, which, though it did not arrive in season to prevent his arrest, was the occasion of his being immediately liberated.

On his return to Boston, after an absence of nearly a year and a half, he found his society so far reduced in numbers from death, emigration, and other causes that they were seriously apprehensive that they should be obliged to disband from their inability to support the ministry. He refused, however, to listen to such a suggestion, assuring them that he would receive whatever compensation they could give him, and would continue with them while three families remained. He further agreed "to accept the contribution that should from time to time be collected and paid him during his ministry as a full compensation, any agreement with the society previously made notwithstanding." The society, as they recovered their strength, did not forget the generous sacrifices which he had made in their behalf.

He died after an illness of a week on the 13th of August, 1804, in the seventy-second year of his age. His funeral was attended on Wednesday, the 15th, and a sermon preached on the occasion by his particular friend, President Willard, from Rev. ii. 10.

The degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by the University of Edinburgh. He was an overseer and a fellow of Harvard College, and was a member of most of the local societies for the promotion of literary, charitable, and religious objects, and an officer of several of them.

Dr. Howard was first married in December, 1771, to the widow of Dr. Mayhew, his predecessor. She died in April, 1777, at the age of forty-four. His second wife was the daughter of his early friend, Dr. Gay, of Hingham. He left one son, Dr. John Clarke Howard.

During the earlier part of his ministry he did not belong to the Boston Association, as his predecessor had not done. It appears from the records of the Association that in August, 1784, a committee, appointed at a former meeting, "to wait on him, and know whether he wished to join the Association, reported that they had attended to that service, and the Rev. Mr. Howard would take the matter into consideration." It appears, further, that in July, 1790, Dr. Howard signified his desire to become a member, and was admitted accordingly, and preached the Thursday Lecture.

As a preacher, Dr. Howard was far from being, in the common acceptation of the word, eloquent. He seldom took his eyes from his manuscript during the delivery of a sermon. His sermons were generally on practical subjects, though he was undoubtedly more free in the statement of his liberal views than most of his contemporaries. His prayers were uttered with great solemnity, and occasionally with considerable pathos.

Dr. Howard was distinguished for a truly patriarchal simplicity of character. No one ever suspected him of seeming to aim at one object when he was really aiming at another. He evidently had a humble opinion of himself, though he had nothing of that spurious humility that leads some men to be forever ostentatiously acknowledging their own imperfections. He was charitable in his estimate of character, and never imputed evil motives when any other could possibly be supposed. He was bland and gentle in his manners, calm and equable in his temper. He was cheerful without levity, and serious without gloom. He was more inclined to listen than to speak; and, when he did speak, he rarely, if ever, said anything which either he or his friends had occasion to regret. His parishioners loved him as a brother and honored him as a father, his brethren in the ministry always met him with a grateful and cordial welcome, and the commu-

nity at large reverenced him for his simplicity, integrity, and benevolence.

The following is a list of Dr. Howard's publications:—

A Sermon preached at the Artillery Election, 1773; A Sermon occasioned by the Death of his Wife, 1777; A Sermon preached before a Lodge of Free Masons, 1778; Christians have no cause to be ashamed of their Religion: A Sermon, 1779; A Sermon preached on the Day of the General Election, 1780; A Sermon preached at the Ordination of Thomas Adams, 1791.

Dr. Howard was succeeded by CHARLES LOWELL (1782–1861), a son of Hon. John and Rebecca (Russell) Lowell, who was born in Boston, August 15, 1782. His father was an eminent lawyer, a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution of Massachusetts, and was appointed by Washington judge of the district court of that State. He (the son) was a student at Phillips Academy, Andover, under Abiel Abbot and Mark Newman, three or four years, and was afterwards placed under the instruction of the Rev. Zedekiah Sanger, in South Bridgewater, where he completed his preparatory studies, and entered the Sophomore Class in Harvard College in 1797. After graduating in 1800, he studied law one year with his elder brother, John Lowell, Jr., and then relinquished it for the study of theology. In the autumn of 1802 he went to Scotland, and entered the Divinity School of the University of Edinburgh, where he remained till the spring of 1804, when he proceeded to London, having in the mean time attended the lectures of Dugald Stewart and been on terms of intimacy with Thomas Brown, the philosopher, and several others, who afterwards rose to great eminence. After staying awhile in London and making the acquaintance of William Wilberforce, Bishop Porteus, and other persons of illustrious name, he went to Paris, and there had frequent opportunities of seeing Napoleon Buonaparte, just after he had been proclaimed emperor. Having made a tour through Holland and Switzerland, he returned to Scotland, and spent another winter in Edinburgh. In the spring of 1805 he left Edinburgh, passed a little time with a maternal uncle at Clifton, near Bristol, England, preached at Bristol and Hackney, and in the course of the summer returned to his native country. He studied divinity for a while under the Rev. Zedekiah Sanger, of South Bridgewater, and Dr. Tappan, professor of divinity in Harvard College. He was ordained and installed pastor of the West Church, Boston, on the 1st of January, 1806. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard College in 1823. He continued sole pastor of the church with which he became connected for more than thirty-seven

years. His health having become feeble, Mr. Cyrus Augustus Bartol was set apart as his colleague in March, 1837; but Dr. Lowell continued his pastoral relation—officiating, however, very rarely—as long as he lived. Soon after the ordination of his colleague he revisited Europe, and travelled extensively, not only on the Continent, but in the East, and after a protracted and most interesting tour returned in the summer of 1840. His last years were years of great feebleness and considerable suffering, but he was able to see his friends and occasionally to visit some of them until near the close of life. He died suddenly at Cambridge on the 20th of January, 1861, aged seventy-eight years. He was married in October, 1806, to Harriet B. Spencer, of Portsmouth, N.H., and had six children, one of whom was James Russell Lowell.

At the height of his power Dr. Lowell preached to the largest congregation in Boston, and the West Church was the home of three or four hundred of the leading families of the community. His sermons were earnest and direct appeals to the conscience and the emotional nature. He wrote with faultless taste and simple elegance. In his personal appearance there was a rare blending of majesty and grace. He had a clear, penetrating voice, a handsome face and figure, a natural earnestness of manner which made him a master of the orator's art. He knew every man, woman, and child in his large parish, and was assiduous in giving to them counsel, encouragement, and comfort. No minister in Boston was more beloved and honored. Theologically, he was undoubtedly a Unitarian; but he resolutely refused to attach himself to any denomination or to call himself by any name other than Christian.

The following is a list of Dr. Lowell's publications:—

A Sermon on the Annual Artillery Election, Boston, 1810; A Sermon preached at the State Prison in Massachusetts, 1812; A Discourse delivered the Sabbath after the Execution of H. P. S. Davis for the Murder of Gaspard Denegri, 1817; A Discourse delivered before the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America, 1820; An Historical Discourse delivered in the West Church in Boston, 1820; A Sermon preached at the Ordination of Richard Manning Hodges in the South Parish in Bridgewater, 1821; A Sermon preached at the Ordination of Samuel Barrett as Minister of the Twelfth Congregational Church in Boston, 1825; A Sermon preached at the Ordination of George Wadsworth Wells at Kennebunk, Me., 1827; The Trinitarian Controversy, a discourse delivered at the ordination of Daniel M. Stearns to the Pastoral Charge of the First Church in Dennis, 1828; Union of Sentiment among Christians not Essential to Peace, a sermon preached at the dedica-

tion of the South Congregational Church in Natick, 1828; Theology, and not Religion, the Source of Division and Strife in the Christian Church, a sermon preached at the Ordination of John Langdon Sibley as Minister of the Church in Stow, 1829; A Sermon preached at the Dedication of the Second Congregational Church in Milton, 1829; The Wisdom and Goodness of God in the Appointment of Men, and not Angels, to the Christian Ministry, a sermon preached in Berlin at the Ordination of Robert Folger Wallcut, 1830; Men Accountable only to God for their Religious Opinions, a sermon preached at the ordination of William Barry, Jr., to the pastoral care of the South Congregational Church in Lowell, 1830; A Sermon preached in the West Church, Boston, a Quarter of a Century from the Time of the Author's Settlement, 1831; Gospel Preaching, a sermon preached at the ordination of Thomas B. Fox as pastor of the First Church and Religious Society in Newburyport, 1831; A Discourse (Historical) delivered in the West Church in Boston, 1845; Sermons Chiefly Practical, one vol., 12mo, 1855; Sermons Chiefly Occasional, one vol., 12mo, 1855. The last-mentioned volume is mainly a reprint of those which had been previously published in pamphlet form.

The following is a list of Dr. Mayhew's publications: Seven Sermons delivered at the Boston Lecture (an octavo volume), 1749; A Discourse on the Anniversary of the Death of Charles I., 1750; A Sermon on the Death of the Prince of Wales, 1751; Massachusetts Election Sermon, 1754; Sixteen Sermons on Various Subjects (an octavo volume), 1755; A Discourse occasioned by the Earthquakes, 1755; Two Discourses on the same subject, 1755; Two Thanksgiving Sermons for the Success of His Majesty's Arms, 1758; Two Sermons on the Reduction of Quebec, 1759; A Sermon on the Death of Stephen Sewall, 1760; A Sermon occasioned by the Great Fire, 1760; A Sermon on the Death of George II. and the Accession of George III., 1761; Two Sermons on Striving to enter in at the Strait Gate, 1761; Two Thanksgiving Sermons on the Divine Goodness, 1761; Eight Sermons to Young Men on Christian Sobriety (an octavo volume), 1763; Observations on the Charter and Conduct of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1763; Defence of the Preceding against an Anonymous Pamphlet, 1764; A Second Defence of the Same, 1765; Letter of Reproof to John Cleaveland, of Ipswich, 1764; Dudleian Lecture on Popish Idolatry, delivered at Harvard College, 1765; A Thanksgiving Sermon on the Repeal of the Stamp Act, 1766.

For the career of Mayhew and his successors see Alden Bradford's Memoir of the Life and Writings of Rev. Jonathan Mayhew; C. A. Bartol's The West Church and its Minister; C. A. Bartol's The West Church, Boston, Commemorative Services, pp. 16–19, with portrait; and Dr. Lowell's Historical Discourses.

SAMUEL WEST (of New Bedford)

1730–1807

Samuel West, the fourth minister of that part of Dartmouth which now makes the city of New Bedford and town of Fair Haven, was born at Yarmouth, Cape Cod, March 3, 1730 (O.S.); was graduated at Harvard College in 1754; was ordained June 3, 1761; was honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity from his Alma Mater in 1793; withdrew from his ministerial labors in June, 1803, and died at the house of his son in Tiverton, R.I., September 24, 1807.

His father, Sackfield West, who was a physician, removed, soon after Samuel was born, to Barnstable. Here the son labored as a farmer till he had reached his twentieth year. He was fitted for college in six months under the care of the Rev. Mr. Green of Barnstable. He went to college in 1750, bare-footed, carrying his shoes and stockings in his hand, and at the examination had a dispute with one of the examiners as to a Greek reading, in which he is said to have carried his point.

After leaving college, he devoted himself to almost every branch of science, though theology was his principal study. History and politics, the physical sciences and metaphysics, medicine and law, were all subjects on which he was glad to improve every opportunity of gaining information; and the consequence was that, though living in an obscure place, with few appliances of learning within his reach and none to sympathize with him in his pursuits, he proved himself, in vigor and exactness of thought and in the variety and

extent of the subjects which he mastered, inferior to very few men of his time.

He was settled in 1761, on a salary of sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and sixpence. Besides this seventeen members of the precinct bound themselves to provide "the keeping one horse and two cows, winters and summers, as they ought to be kept." But the salary was not paid. In 1779 his circumstances were "so deplorable as to demand immediate relief," and a committee was appointed by the precinct to procure firewood and corn for his family. In 1788 he represents the society as owing him seven hundred and sixty-nine pounds, twelve shillings, and eleven pence, and urges the payment of it. "My reasons for this request," he says, "are, first, I owe money upon interest which I cannot pay until the money due to me be collected in. Secondly, I have suffered greatly for the necessaries of life, especially in the article of clothing, for which I have been beholden to money obtained from another quarter." These embarrassments were somewhat relieved by a small patrimony and by the kindness of his friends abroad. Among his own society he found little intellectual sympathy. They were a plain, industrious, uneducated people. A good woman, who lived to be nearly a hundred years old, told how he visited at the house where she was when she was quite young. For tea baked apples and bread were crumbled into a large pan of milk at the centre of the table, and Dr. West and the grown-up members of the household all ate together from the same bowl, the doctor exhibiting no squeamishness at the mode of procedure, but, as a faithful pastor should, setting an edifying example of active diligence.

Dr. West was twice married: first, on the 7th of March, 1768, to Experience, daughter of Consider Howland, who became the mother of six children, and

died March 6, 1789; and again, on the 20th of January, 1790, to Louisa, widow of Benjamin Jenne, and daughter of Jacob Hathaway, of Dartmouth, who died March 18, 1797. There were no children by the second marriage. Both Dr. West's wives were women of uncommon excellence; and, if they knew little of the subjects that most engaged his thoughts, they knew better than he how to lengthen out the shortcomings of his income into the means of a comfortable support. His first wife was a tall woman, and in reference to that and in connection with her Christian name he used to say that he had "learned from *long Experience* that it was a good thing to be married."

Dr. West was an ardent patriot. He could keep no terms with those who were hesitating or lukewarm, but blazed out against them. After the battle at Bunker Hill he set out to join the American Army, and do what he might as a minister of God to keep up their courage. It was while in the army, serving as a chaplain, that he gained great notoriety by deciphering for General Washington a treasonable letter from Dr. Church to an officer in the British army, of which a full account may be found in the third volume of Sparks's Writings of Washington, pp. 502–506. In 1776 he delivered a discourse (afterwards printed) before the Provincial Convention at Watertown, and in December, 1777, he delivered the anniversary sermon at Plymouth. All his learning, which was great, and his religious enthusiasm, were employed in behalf of his country. In times of the greatest darkness he roused the spirits of the people by showing that in the very events which threw such a gloom over the country was the beginning of the fulfilment of ancient prophecies, which must eventually lead on to their deliverance. Before the war began, he, from the Scriptures, predicted these more trying times, and from the faithful accomplish-

ment of those predictions in the darkest hour he looked forward almost with exultation to the glorious fulfilment of what yet remained, when this country, then so harassed by war, should, to use his own words, "be the place to which the persecuted in other nations shall flee from the tyranny of their oppressors, and our Zion shall become the delight and praise of the whole earth."

Father West, as he was always called at that time, was an influential member of the Convention that formed the Constitution of the State of Massachusetts, and also of the Convention for the adoption of the Constitution of the United States; and in this latter Convention it was in no small measure through his personal influence with Governor Hancock that that distinguished man was persuaded to give his assent to the adoption of the Federal Constitution. An interesting account of this matter is contained in a letter from the Hon. Francis Baylies, the historian of the Plymouth Colony, to the Hon. John H. Clifford, of New Bedford, from which the following account, slightly condensed, is taken:—

"The fate of the Constitution in the convention was doubtful, when Governor Hancock, without whose aid it certainly could not be adopted, was seized with his constitutional disorder, the gout, and, withdrawing from the chair, took to his bed. The friends of the Constitution were convinced of the necessity of getting him out. Dr. West (who was Hancock's classmate at Harvard) was selected as the person most likely to influence him. He repaired to his house, and after a long condolence on the subject of his bodily complaints he expressed his deep regrets that this affliction should have come upon him at a moment when his presence in the Convention seemed almost indispensable. He enlarged upon his vast influence, his many acts of patriotism, his coming forth in former days, at critical

periods, to give new energy to the slumbering patriotism of his countrymen, and on the prodigious effect of his name. Heaven, he said, had given him another glorious opportunity, by saving his country, to win imperishable honor to himself. The whole people would follow his footsteps with blessings. The governor, who knew that Dr. West had always been his sincere and disinterested friend, listened to his suggestions, and made up his mind to appear again in the Convention. Wrapped in his flannels, he took the chair, addressed the Convention, proposed the conciliatory plan suggested by his friend, and the result is known. There is little doubt that Hancock turned the scale in this State in favor of the Constitution, and in my mind there is little doubt that Dr. West induced him to do it.

"During the session of the Convention Dr. West spent many of his evenings abroad. He generally returned with his pockets filled with fine handkerchiefs, silk stockings, silk gloves, small pieces of cambric, and many other articles which could, without attracting attention, be slipped into his pocket. His distress, on discovering them, was ludicrous; for, aware of his absence of mind, he supposed that he might have taken these articles unconsciously and without the consent of the owners, but his fellow-boarders generally contrived to convince him that they were designed as presents,—which was the truth."

"I well remember," continues Mr. Baylies, "the effect which the oddity of his manners produced; but I was too young to appreciate the force and originality of his conversation. Separate from metaphysics and theology, he was a great man, and his great and universal knowledge, notwithstanding his eccentricity and roughness, rendered his conversation always agreeable, and sometimes delightful."

Dr. West's sympathies with humanity were too

quick to make him a good Calvinist. His sermons were largely of the old Biblical and textual type, but theologically they were Unitarian in thought and temper. He asserted free will for man in opposition to the Calvinistic doctrine of preordination and election, and he believed in man's ability of moral choice in opposition to the doctrine of total depravity. In his election sermon of 1776 he said, "A revelation pretending to be from God that contradicts any part of natural laws ought immediately to be rejected as an imposture, for the Deity cannot make a law contrary to the law of nature without acting contrary to himself." In his Forefathers' Day sermon he said: "Love and unity are the essential marks of a true Christian. Were we possessed of true Christian candor, by a fair and impartial comparison we should find that many differences in explaining matters of faith are only mere verbal differences, and entirely vanish when we come to define our terms." It was natural that under such a minister, broad and tolerant in spirit, robust in thought, fervid in patriotism, incisive in logic, inclusive in fellowship, that the society should pass without break or discussion into the liberal ranks.

The great work of Jonathan Edwards on the Freedom of the Will had been published some years when Dr. West was ordained, and had an influence on the theology of New England such as can be attributed to no other work of the time. To the doctrines of this work Dr. West never could assent. He believed that there was a self-determining power in man. In opposition to Edwards he wrote two remarkable pamphlets, in which he argues the character of God from the Scriptures, from reason itself and the moral accountability of man. The first pamphlet was published in 1793, the substance of the first part of it having been "penned about twenty years." This being soon out of print,

he republished it in 1795, together with a second part containing four additional essays.

These studies must have had great influence on Dr. West's preaching. His metaphysical investigations must have colored all his thoughts. He usually preached without notes, and was always prepared. Once, when in Boston, during the latter part of his life, he was invited by Dr. Clarke, of the First Church, to preach for him. About an hour before the services were to commence, Father West requested his friend to give him a text. At this Dr. Clarke was alarmed, and asked if it were possible that he was going to preach without notes, and with no other preparation. "Come, come," said Father West, "it is my way, give me a text." Dr. Clarke selected Romans ix. 22. "What if God, willing to show his wrath, and to make his power known, endured with much long-suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction." Dr. West looked over the Bible a few minutes, turning down leaves here and there, and then went into the church, where he preached a cogent, logical discourse, an hour and twenty minutes long, on that perplexing subject. The strong men of the congregation were intensely interested, and Dr. Clarke, on coming from the pulpit, exclaimed, "Why, Father West, it would have taken me three months to prepare such a discourse." "Ha, ha," was the reply, "and I have been studying it twenty years."

Many anecdotes of Dr. West have come down to us. His friends would often meet him on his horse which had stopped to feed by the roadside, the doctor with his hands folded on his breast, and taking no notice of them. He would sometimes follow the young men who were studying theology with him to their bedchamber, and remain discoursing to them nearly the whole night. He once met a friend, and told him that

he and his wife were on their way to pay him a visit. "Your wife," said his friend, "where is she?" "Why," replied the doctor, "I thought she was on the pillion behind me." She had got ready to accompany him, but was left behind. He would sometimes, at the meeting-house, stop at the horse-block for his wife to dismount, when she had been forgotten and was still at home. Once he went to mill, leading his horse, and carrying the grist on his own shoulder. On being asked by a friend in Boston if this were true, he said with a laugh that it was too good a story to be spoiled, and so he should not contradict it.

One Sunday there had been difficulty with the singers, and they had given out that they should not sing on the next Sunday. This was told to Dr. West. "Well, well, we will see," he said, and on Sunday morning gave out his hymn. After reading it, he said very emphatically, "You will begin with the second verse,—

> 'Let those refuse to sing
> Who never knew our God.'"

Dr. Charles Lowell narrates these anecdotes of Dr. West: "In those days it was the custom for ministers, when travelling, to refresh themselves and their beasts at the residences of such of their brethren as lived on their route. One day, while I was living with Dr. Sanger, a horse, saddled and bridled, came running into the yard, and one of the family exclaimed: 'That is Dr. West's horse. The doctor must be on the road, and we must go back, and look for him.' One or two of the boys, accordingly, mounted the horse, and rode towards New Bedford. After a while they saw a dark object in the middle of the sandy road, at some distance beyond them. On arriving at the spot, they found it was Dr. West, sitting in the middle of the road, appar-

ently in deep thought, and taking no notice of anything about him. 'Why, Dr. West, is this you?' was the inquiry. 'How came you here in the road?' 'Yes, I suppose it is I, and I believe the beast has thrown me,' was the reply. He was assisted on to the horse, and conveyed to Dr. Sanger's, where he stayed, as was his wont on his calls, a good many days, exhibiting every now and then his fits of absence of mind, to the no small amusement of us lads, and indeed of all who witnessed them.

"It might have been on this visit to Boston that a circumstance occurred that was related to me by Dr. Porter, of Roxbury. On a very rainy day one of Dr. Porter's parishioners came in, and told him that there was an elderly gentleman, apparently a clergyman, sitting on the steps of the meeting-house; and he thought it was proper for him to inform the doctor of it, that, if he saw fit, he might ascertain who he was. Dr. Porter, on arriving at the meeting-house, recognized Dr. West as the minister who had seated himself there, and expressed no small surprise at finding him in such circumstances. 'Why,' said Dr. West, 'I have a controversy, as I suppose you know, with another man of my name in Stockbridge, who has lately sent out a new pamphlet, and I have come down here to consult some books; and, having got as far as here, I remembered that my people had not had any preaching for three weeks, and I sat down here to think the matter over, whether I had better go on to consult the library at Cambridge or go home to New Bedford.' 'You can just as well think about that by my fireside,' said Dr. Porter, 'and had better go into my house and determine it there.' 'Well, well, so I had, I believe.' So in he went, stayed there some days, determined to go to Cambridge, notwithstanding his people had been without preaching for three Sab-

baths; and when he got back to resume his labors among them I never learned."

In his old age reverses fell heavily on Dr. West. He was a man of uncommon physical powers, six feet high, and weighing two hundred pounds, but he had absolutely neglected all concern for his bodily health. He suffered nothing from this neglect until about his seventieth year, when both mind and body fell into quick decay. In 1787 he had lost a daughter, and the impression made upon him by her death was never effaced. He had buried two wives, and in the bereavement of his home had not near him the society of men who could understand or sympathize with him in the subjects that most engaged his thoughts. He was imposed upon by a worthless man who contrived, by actual experiment, to make him believe that he had succeeded in turning salt water into fresh. He took great pains to interest his friends in Boston in this matter, and it was a heavy blow to his spirits when he found that he had been deceived. He tried to pass it off with a joke. "It requires," he said, "a great mind to make a great mistake." A parishioner, taking advantage of his absence of mind, imposed upon him still more seriously. He had nearly prepared for the press a rejoinder to the work which President Edwards had written in reply to his own, but the public interest was gone, and his friends gave him no encouragement. "These things," he said, "have disheartened and destroyed me. I am now to be laid aside as useless. My faculties will go." And it was so. He was more than ever absent-minded. His memory failed, though his intellect, when excited, retained much of its vigor. He had preached the same sermon to his own people three Sabbaths in succession, but no member of his family was willing to distress him by telling him what he had done. The fourth Sabbath his daughter saw,

with a heavy heart, that he had his Bible open at the same place,—the parable of the rich man and Lazarus. Fortunately, he left the room for a minute. She opened the Bible at another place, and put it back. When he took up the book on his return, he seemed for a moment lost, then fixed himself upon the passage to which she had opened, and from that preached a discourse which, to some of his people, seemed the ablest that he had given for years.

But the time had come when he was to be released from his parish labors. The terms of a friendly separation were agreed upon, and he withdrew from his labors in June, 1803. His last days were spent with his son in Tiverton, and there on September 24, 1807, the aged servant of God breathed his last.

The following is the list of Dr. West's publications: A Sermon preached at the Ordination of Samuel West at Needham, 1764; A Sermon preached before the Provincial Convention at Watertown, 1776; A Sermon preached on the Day of the General Election, 1776; A Sermon preached on the Anniversary of the Landing of the Fathers at Plymouth, 1777; A Sermon at the Ordination of John Allyn at Duxbury, 1788; Essays on Liberty and Necessity, in which the True Nature of Liberty is stated and defended, and the Principal Arguments used by Mr. Edwards and Others for Necessity are considered, in Two Parts, the first printed in 1793, the second in 1795; A Tract on Infant Baptism.

For Dr. West's career consult D. Ricketson's History of New Bedford, pp. 275, 276, and 318–320; William J. Potter's The First Congregational Society in New Bedford, Mass.; L. B. Ellis's History of New Bedford and its Vicinity, 1602–1892, various allusions in index; Cooke's Unitarianism in America, pp. 69, 70.

The foregoing sketch is condensed from a letter written to Dr. Sprague by the Rev. John H. Morison.

After Dr. West's death the First Congregational Society in New Bedford had no settled minister for ten years. Then followed two short ministries, and then in succession: Orville Dewey, 1825–34 (see Vol. III. p. 84); Joseph Angier, 1835–37 (see Vol. III. p. 256); Ephraim Peabody, 1838–45 (see Vol. III. p. 297); John H. Morison, colleague, 1838–44 (see Vol. III. p. 256); John Weiss, 1847–59 (see Vol. III. p. 376); Charles Lowe, colleague, 1852–53 (see Vol. III. p. 228); William J. Potter, 1859–93 (see Vol. III. p. 303).

JOSEPH PRIESTLEY

1733–1805

Joseph Priestley was born at Fieldhead, about six miles south-west of Leeds, Yorkshire, England, on the 13th of March (O.S.), 1733. His father was Jonas Priestley, who followed the trade of a clothier. In his early childhood he was committed to the care of his maternal grandfather, with whom he continued, with little interruption, till his mother's death, which occurred when he was about seven years old. As his father was encumbered with a large family, his father's sister, who had no children, took him to live with her, and adopted him as her own. She continued to treat him as her child till her death, in 1764.

By this benevolent and excellent lady, who was in easy circumstances, he was sent to several schools in the neighborhood, and at the same time he was devoting such leisure as he could command to the study of Hebrew, under the dissenting minister of the place, Mr. Kirkby, who subsequently became his instructor also in other branches. With these advantages he had acquired a good knowledge of the languages at the age of sixteen. As his health was poor, and it was apprehended that he was of a consumptive habit, his thoughts were directed to commercial life; and, with a view to this, he learned French, Italian, and German without a teacher. A plan had been formed for placing him in the counting-house of an uncle who lived in Lisbon, and everything was ready for the voyage, when it was found that his health had so far improved that it would be safe for him to return to his studies. He was, accordingly, sent to Daventry Academy, to study

under the Rev. Caleb Ashworth. Here he spent three years; and, though he had been educated in the Calvinistic faith, he left the academy a thorough convert to Arianism.

He entered the ministry at a great disadvantage in consequence of a natural impediment in his speech, and this, notwithstanding various efforts to effect a cure, always continued, in a degree at least, till the close of his life. On leaving the academy in 1755, he settled at Needham Market, in Suffolk, over a very small congregation; but the fact that he was not orthodox, when it came to be discovered, was offensive to some of his people, while the impediment in his speech, and his general lack of popular talents, rendered him scarcely an acceptable preacher to the community at large. Here he pursued his theological studies, and quickly became satisfied "that the doctrine of atonement, even in its most qualified sense, had no countenance either from Scripture or reason"; and, in prosecuting his inquiries on this subject, he also reached the conclusion that the apostle Paul's "reasoning was, in many places, far from being conclusive." After being at Needham just three years, he was invited to preach to a congregation at Nantwich, in Cheshire; and he, accordingly, removed thither in 1758.

At Nantwich he passed three years much to his satisfaction. Besides performing the duties of a minister, he engaged in teaching a school, and to the more common branches of instruction he added experiments in natural philosophy, to which he had already become attached.

In 1761 he was invited to become a tutor in languages in the academy at Warrington, and here he first began to acquire reputation as a writer in various branches of literature. On a visit to London he became acquainted with Dr. Franklin and several other persons

eminent in the scientific world, who encouraged him to execute a plan he had already projected, of writing his History of Electricity, which appeared in 1767. This work passed through several editions. He had the year before been elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and about the same time the University of Edinburgh conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws. Though it was no part of his duty to preach, while at Warrington, he chose to continue the practice.

In September, 1767, he left Warrington, and took charge of the congregation of Mill Hill Chapel at Leeds. Here he resumed his application to speculative theology which had occupied him at Needham, and which had been interrupted by the business of teaching at Nantwich and Warrington. Soon after his settlement here, he says in his memoir, "I became what is called a Socinian, and, after giving the closest attention to the subject, I have seen more and more reason to be satisfied with that opinion to this day, and likewise to be more impressed with the idea of its importance." Here he announced the change in his theological views in several different publications, and also wrote a pamphlet or two designed to vindicate the principles and conduct of dissenters. It was during his residence at Leeds that his attention was directed more particularly to the properties of fixed air. He had begun his experiments on this subject in the year 1768, but his first publication appeared in 1772. Here also he composed his "History and Present State of Discoveries relating to Vision, Light, and Colors."

After a residence at Leeds of six years he accepted an invitation from the Earl of Shelburne, afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne, to reside with him, nominally as a librarian, but really as a companion. Here he was occupied chiefly in scientific pursuits, and in 1773

read a paper to the Royal Society on the different kinds of air, which obtained the Copley medal. In 1774 Dr. Priestley accompanied the earl on a tour to the Continent. They visited Flanders, Holland, and Germany, and, after spending a month in Paris, returned to England. This tour he highly valued as a means of both gratification and improvement.

Dr. Priestley's publications during the next three or four years brought out his peculiar views—especially the doctrine of philosophical necessity—with great distinctness, and brought upon him a degree of obloquy which evidently diminished the kind regard of his lordship towards him. The result was that the connection between them was, after seven years together, dissolved, the doctor retaining an annuity of a hundred and fifty pounds, according to the original agreement.

Dr. Priestley removed to Birmingham, where he became the minister of a Unitarian congregation. Here he wrote his "History of the Corruptions of Christianity" and his "History of the Early Opinions concerning Jesus Christ." He published also "Familiar Letters to the Inhabitants of Birmingham," designed to support the claims of the dissenters for a repeal of the Test Acts. These letters gave great offence, and on the occasion of the celebration at Birmingham of the anniversary of the French Revolution, on the 14th of July, 1791, a mob first burned the meeting-house in which he preached, and afterwards his dwelling-house, destroying his library, philosophical apparatus, and, so far as they could, everything that belonged to him. One hundred years afterwards Birmingham erected a monument to him at the place of this riot, and a statue of him was set up by the University of Oxford, once his relentless foe.

Dr. Priestley repaired to London, where he found friends ready to welcome him. In a short time he was

invited to succeed Dr. Price as minister at the Gravel Pit Meeting-house at Hackney. In this situation he found himself, in many respects, easy and comfortable; and he not only had every advantage for pursuing his philosophical and theological inquiries, but was particularly happy in an intimacy with Mr. Lindsey and Mr. Belsham, two of the most eminent Unitarian ministers of the day. He was, however, still, to a great extent, an object of public odium, and the feeling of opposition was not allayed, but intensified, by several of his publications at this period, and he finally made up his mind to cross the ocean, and spend the rest of his days in America. At the time of his leaving England, in April, 1794, several English emigrants had formed a project for a large settlement for the friends of liberty near the head of the Susquehanna, in Pennsylvania. Presuming that this scheme was to go into effect, after landing at New York, on the 4th of June, he proceeded immediately to Philadelphia, and thence to Northumberland, the town nearest to the proposed settlement, intending to reside there until some progress should be made in it. The settlement was given up; but, as he liked the place, he determined to take up his residence there, and there he remained during the residue of his life.*

* The Birmingham riots and the example of Dr. Priestley led to the coming to America of several English liberals. Prominent among them was WILLIAM WELLS, who was born at Biggleswade, Bedfordshire, England, in the year 1744. His father died while he was yet an infant, and his mother when he was in his ninth year. The Christian ministry was his early choice, and in the year 1766 he went to the academy at Daventry, then under the care of the Rev. Mr. Caleb Ashworth, the immediate successor of Dr. Doddridge. This academy was then in high repute among the dissenters. The students were numerous, and many of them subsequently much distinguished. Drs. Kippis, Enfield, and Priestley had been students, and Thomas Belsham and Samuel Palmer were fellow-students with Wells.

Though Dr. Priestley was highly esteemed by the people of Northumberland, not only for his great intelligence, but for his many private virtues, yet his theological views differed so essentially from theirs that it was impossible for him to exercise his ministry there except on a very small scale. About a dozen Englishmen who resided there at the time were accustomed to meet on Sunday, at his house or the house of his son; and, as the number increased, he made use of a school-room in the neighborhood, and so many ultimately attended that he administered to them the Lord's Supper.

In the spring of 1796 he spent three months at Philadelphia, and delivered there a series of discourses on the Evidences of Divine Revelation, which were attended by crowded audiences, including most of the members of Congress and of the executive officers of the government. This visit resulted in the organization of the First Unitarian Society of Philadelphia, which after many years of isolation, prospered under the ministry of Dr. Furness and his successors. The next spring he repeated his visit to Philadelphia, and delivered a second series of discourses.

In the spring of 1801 he again spent some time in Philadelphia, and during his stay there had a violent

He was settled at Bromsgrove, Worcestershire, in the year 1770. In January following he married Jane, a daughter of the Rev. James Hancox, of Dudley. Her cheerful and steady temper was of the greatest advantage to her husband, who, like all men of ardent temperament, though habitually cheerful, had occasionally intervals of depression.

During the events which preceded the American Revolution he took a strong interest in favor of the colonies. He was never an agitator, but expressed his opinions with freedom. He exerted himself in collecting subscriptions for the relief of the American prisoners. When Mr. Laurens, upon his liberation from the Tower, passed through Bromsgrove on his way to Bristol, he inquired for Mr. Wells, stating that he wished to return his own and his country's

attack of fever, from the effects of which he never afterwards fully recovered. He subsequently suffered, also, at different times from the fever and ague; but, notwithstanding these inroads upon his constitution, his spirits continued good, and he pursued his various studies with nearly his accustomed vigor. On February 6, 1804, he passed away so gently that the moment of his departure could not be exactly ascertained.

Dr. Priestley was married in 1763 to Mary, daughter of Isaac Wilkinson, an iron-master near Wrexham, in Wales, with whose family he became acquainted in consequence of having the youngest son at his school at Nantwich. They had four children,—three sons and one daughter.

Priestley is chiefly remembered as the man of science, who discovered the most abundant and most potent element in the world, oxygen. Though untrained in the processes of chemical investigation, he had a natural aptitude for delicate experiments, and he directed his inquiries by a quick and keen imagination and with rare logical ability. With very simple apparatus he discovered and described for the first time nine gases, and made known many of the properties of nitrogen and hydrogen. He was the first to draw attention to the acid compound formed by the

thanks to him for this service. Mr. Wells was then absent, but Mr. Laurens sent a message to this purport to Mrs. Wells.

Besides the care of his parish and the cultivation of a small farm, Mr. Wells taught in his house several boys from dissenting families, some of whom became attached friends. He commonly rose at four o'clock, and in the tardy mornings of an English winter his candle might be seen three hours before daylight. At the academy and in early life he was a hard student, and, though he never claimed the reputation of a learned man, he had read much and carefully. It is not too much to say that at that time the education of the dissenting ministers under Dr. Doddridge and his contemporaries and successors was far superior to that commonly acquired at the universities.

electric discharge through enclosed air, and he was the first to catch a glimpse of that wonder-circle of life by which animals and plants nourish one another in the simple act of living. A greater distinction of Priestley is, however, to be found in the fact that he solved the great questions of science as they presented themselves to him without losing his Christian faith. Men of science often find their occupation so absorbing that they fail to reap the happiness that comes of cultivating the life of the spirit. Priestley thought for himself in religion as in science, believed in immortality, and was very sure of God. He valued, as he tells us, his success in the field of science chiefly because it won for him a wider hearing as a Christian teacher.

"The mind of Priestley," said Dr. C. C. Everett, "was active, sincere, and transparent. He was happy in the time when he lived. It was a time when men were just beginning to feel the special intellectual life which marked the progress of the nineteenth century. The intellectual field was, however, as yet so narrow that one mind could be reasonably familiar with it all." In science, in political economy, in history, in Biblical study, in theology, he made his power felt. Dr. Martineau has said that the list of his works reads

While at Bromsgrove Mr. Wells saw with concern the calamities of the poor arising from the small-pox. His own relatives had suffered severely from this dreadful scourge. At that period inoculation was little known or practised in the middle parts of England. He was so sensible of its value that he inoculated his own children,—a proceeding which occasioned much surprise and some disapprobation. Success, however, produced applications for help; and for two years his time was much occupied with riding about the country, inoculating, supplying the necessary medicines and advice to the sick.

In 1791 the Birmingham riots happened. Mr. Wells's house was threatened, and his meeting-house escaped destruction only by an accident. All sorts of absurd calumnies were circulated about the dissenters, and men of the most blameless and retired lives were

like the prospectus of an encyclopædia. His literary work was immense. At the time of the destruction of his house it is said that the mob waded knee-deep in the fragments of torn manuscripts. Every circumstance of his life set him to some new task. If he was teaching, forthwith treatises on grammar and history flowed from his pen. If he lived by the side of a brewery, he investigated gases. An acquaintance with Franklin moved him to undertake the history of electrical discovery. In all his work he was guided by simple love of truth. It never occurred to him to conceal any convictions that he had. He boldly proclaimed himself a Unitarian, though a less objectionable word would probably have defined his theological position just as well. It is his privilege to be remembered in two widely different capacities, as the scientist who helped to prepare the way for the new chemistry and as the theologian who was largely instrumental in the establishment of Unitarianism in England and America."

The following description of him in his American home was written by one of his Pennsylvania neighbors, Hugh Bellas, Esq.: "The personal appearance of Dr. Priestley, when I first saw him, was that of an aged gentleman, of about five feet nine inches, dressed

accused of forming wicked conspiracies. From early life Mr. Wells had taken great interest in the history of New England, and twelve years before he emigrated had visited Bristol to make inquiries. This crisis of outrage and persecution clinched his decision to follow Dr. Priestley to America.

He arrived at Boston with his wife and eight children, June 12, 1793. The next year he bought a farm at Brattleboro, Vt., where he lived until his death, December 27, 1827. It is remarkable that fifty-one years after their arrival in America all his children were alive and in health. His son, William Wells, graduated at Harvard, was a teacher and bookseller in Boston, and for thirty years the head of a classical school for boys at Cambridge.

Mr. Wells was invited, after some time, to become the pastor of the

in black, with a white stock, walking perfectly erect. He usually moved rapidly and acted earnestly when he was engaged in business, whether in his house or in the street; but he often took a deliberate evening's walk for recreation in the summer. He has been an active pedestrian in England, for he told me he had walked there, in a morning, twenty miles before breakfast. He rode very well on horseback, though not frequently, and I was informed that he had been accustomed to that kind of exercise with the fine horses of the Earl of Shelburne while he lived with him. He usually spoke somewhat rapidly in a tenor tone of voice, without marked impediment, unless under excitement, and then his utterance was but slightly affected.

"Near and in front of Dr. Priestley, as he sat in his library, hung the portraits of his friends, Dr. Price and the Rev. Theophilus Lindsey. Some of his metaphysical arguments against the speculations of the former were written in the same apartment, and in perfect friendship they submitted to each other their opposing manuscripts before they sent them off to the press. It was of Mr. Lindsey that, on leaving England, Dr. Priestley wrote that 'without his society the world would seem to him, for some time at least, almost a blank.'

society in Brattleboro, but declined. He foresaw that his farm and his large family would occupy much of his time, and felt that he should be more independent in action, and perhaps not less useful, than if he became the pastor. He agreed, however, to perform the functions of that office, and accepted what remuneration the town might vote. He was annually chosen for about twenty years. Few ministers devoted themselves more to the improvement of their people.

As a preacher, he laid little stress upon the differences of Protestants. He had his own opinions, but he thought real religion—the religion of the heart and of the life—the one thing needful. He was ardent and unshaken in his zeal for the right of private judgment, and would never subject himself to or aid in imposing upon others any creed or article of faith.

"To all with whom he had intercourse, and especially to young persons, whatever might be their standing in society, he showed much kindness. I went into an old shoemaker's shop one morning, about two years after the doctor came to this country, and saw upon his bench a small volume, which I took up, and found to be the first volume of Dr. Priestley's 'Institutes of Natural and Revealed Religion.' The old man said the doctor had given it to him as a present, and both he and his wife spoke warmly of his friendly and benevolent disposition, and reprobated, in no very moderate terms, those who condemned him, without, as they supposed, knowing his opinions.

"Dr. Priestley's uncommon urbanity and gracefulness of manners, as well as his intellectual qualities, made him welcome to the most refined and cultivated society. He was always cheerful and courteous, his fair and expressive countenance beaming with benevolent excitement, and his full blue eyes frequently moistened from sensibility. One morning a venerable and strict Presbyterian, old Mr. Montgomery, described in my hearing the various persons who had been with him the preceding evening at a little social party, in some friend's house, and, after mentioning others, said, 'And we had the old doctor among us, with all the benevolence of a primitive apostle.'

At the age of seventy-four he made a voyage to England, being especially desirous to see his eldest daughter, who had been long married and settled in her native country. He passed somewhat more than a year abroad, visiting the scenes of his youth and former life, and renewing such intimacies as time had spared. Every one was surprised at the accuracy of his memory and at the activity, energy, and vivacity of his manners and inquiries. His account of these observations was an amusement to himself, and highly interested his family and friends during the remainder of his life. While abroad, he received, very unexpectedly, the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard University.

"The doctor conducted family worship in the morning in his library, reading the prayers in a standing posture. About the year 1799 he commenced preaching in a school-house, an humble log building near his dwelling, to an audience of fifteen, twenty, or more. There he administered the Lord's Supper, handing the bread and wine to his little grandchildren as well as to any other who chose to partake. A person to whom he gave the elements carried them round to those present who were seated. On at least some of these occasions he was much moved,—the tears ran down his cheeks, and his voice struggled for utterance. During public worship he wore the black silk gown, and, after reading the hymn, joined in singing, keeping before him the notes of the tune in his music book.

"He was disposed to place full confidence in those with whom he transacted business. As he never took the trouble of learning to count our currency, he handed his money, when he made his little purchases in the stores, saying, 'There, Mr. C., you will give me the proper change, for I do not know it.'

"In the year 1802 a young gentleman from New England, making a tour for health or pleasure, called upon the doctor, and I soon after inquired who his visitor was. He told me, but I cannot recollect his name, and added, with no little confidence and animation: 'A great change is about to take place in New England in favor of Unitarianism. I shall not live to see it, but you may.'"

The list of Dr. Priestley's writings would cover pages. Beginning in 1761, and including his posthumous works, he published nearly two hundred books, pamphlets, tracts, and articles in periodicals. The list of these works, arranged chronologically, can be found in Volume II. of Rutt's Life and Correspondence of Joseph Priestley and, arranged by subjects, in Volume II. of Cooper's Memoirs of Dr. Priestley. A very complete list is given in the original volume of Sprague's Annals. The following is a fairly complete list of books and articles about Priestley and his work: William Cobbett's Observations on the Emigration of Joseph Priestley, etc., 1794; William Christie's Speech at the Grave of Rev. Joseph Priestley, 1804; Thomas Belsham's

Discourse on the Death of Rev. Joseph Priestley, 1804; John Edwards's Sermon on the Death of Joseph Priestley, 1804; John Corry's Life of Joseph Priestley, 1804; Memoirs of Dr. Joseph Priestley to the Year 1805, written by himself, with a Continuation to the Time of his Decease, by his Son, 1806; J. Aikin's Memoir of Joseph Priestley, in Lucy Aikin's Memoir of John Aikin, M.D., 1823, vol. i. pp. 366–394; William Jones's A Small Whole-length of Dr. Priestley, in his Theological and Miscellaneous Works, 1826, vol. vi. pp. 297–343; Baron Cuvier's Biographical Memoir of Dr. Joseph Priestley, in the Edinburgh *New Philosophical Journal*, July–September, 1827, vol. iii. pp. 209–231; J. T. Rutt's Life and Correspondence of Joseph Priestley, two volumes, 1831; E. B. Hall's Review of Rutt's Life, in the *Christian Examiner*, May, 1832, and May, 1834, vol. xii. pp. 257–276, and vol. xvi. pp. 137–168; An Estimate of the Philosophical Character of Dr. Priestley, by William Henry, in the *American Journal of Science and Arts* (Silliman's), 1833, vol. xxiv. pp. 28–39; Henry Ware, Jr.'s, Memoir, prefixed to Dr. Priestley's View of Christian Truth, etc., 1834, pp. vii–lxxx; William Turner, Jr.'s, Lives of Eminent Unitarians, 1843, vol. ii. pp. 438–452; Henry, Lord Brougham's Priestley, in his Lives of Philosophers of the Time of George III., 1855, pp. 68–90; F. Jeffrey's Review of the Memoirs of Dr. Joseph Priestley, in his Contributions to the Edinburgh Review, 1856, pp. 492–496; Joseph Priestley and Unitarianism in England, in the *Monthly Religious Magazine*, November, 1864, and January, 1865, vol. xxxii. pp. 318–326, and vol. xxxiii. pp. 33–42; H. D. Catlin's Notes of Dr. Priestley, in the *Unitarian Review*, September, 1874, vol. ii. pp. 182–191; T. H. Huxley's Essay on Joseph Priestley, in his Science and Culture, 1881, pp. 94–127, also in his Science and Education, 1893, pp. 1-37; The Priestley Memorial at Birmingham, 1874; H. D. Catlin, Joseph Priestley, in the *Unitarian Review*, January, 1881, vol. xv. pp. 1–19; Francis Hitchman's Joseph Priestley, in his Eighteenth Century Studies, 1881, pp. 304–333; George Dawson's Life of Dr. Priestley, in his Biographical Lectures, 1886; Joseph May's Joseph Priestley, a discourse, 1888; James Martineau's Essays, Reviews, and Addresses, 1890, pp. 1-42; Scientific Correspondence of Joseph Priestley, with copious biographical, etc., notes (edited by H. C. Bolton), 1892, p. 240; review of Bolton's Scientific Correspondence of Joseph Priestley, in *The Nation*, April 27, 1893, vol. lvi. pp. 318, 319; Alex. Gordon's Lecture on Priestley, in his Heads of English Unitarian History, 1895, pp. 102–134; B. R. Belloc's Joseph Priestley in Domestic Life, in her In a Walled Garden, 1896, pp. 25–63; Leon H. Vincent's The Autobiography of a Fair-minded Man, in The Bibliotaph, 1898, pp. 165–191; B. W. Richardson's Joseph Priestley, etc., in his Disciples of Æsculapius, 1901, pp. 344–361; C. C. Everett's Joseph Priestley: The Old Unitarian and the New, in his Immortality, and Other Essays, 1902, pp. 97–137.

The foregoing sketch of Dr. Priestley was derived by Dr. Sprague chiefly from the Memoir by himself and his son and from the article in Chalmer's Biographical Dictionary. The note on Dr. Wells is abridged from the letter sent to Dr. Sprague by Williams Wells, Esq., of Cambridge.

HENRY CUMMINGS

1737–1823

AND HIS NEIGHBORS

Henry Cummings was born in Tyngsboro, Mass., September 25, 1737. While he was yet in his infancy, his parents removed to Hollis, N.H. His father, who was in moderate circumstances and of excellent character, died when this son was about eight years old, leaving a family of several children, of whom Henry was the eldest. His mother was distinguished for earnest, active piety and remarkable strength of character.

Henry gave early indications of an uncommonly vigorous mind, and attracted the attention of his minister, the Rev. Daniel Emerson,* as a youth of so much promise as to justify some extraordinary efforts to give him a college education. Accordingly, he volunteered to superintend his course of study preparatory to entering college. In 1756 he entered at Cambridge, and, having maintained through his whole course a high standing for both scholarship and moral conduct, graduated in 1760.

He then accepted an invitation from a gentleman in Boston to live in his family and prosecute his theological studies. In the autumn of 1762 Mr. Cummings was employed to preach as a candidate at Bille-

* Daniel Emerson was born in Reading, Mass., May 17, 1716; was graduated at Harvard College in 1739; was ordained at Hollis, N.H., April 20, 1743; received Eli Smith as his colleague November 27, 1793; and died on the 30th of September, 1801, aged eighty-five years, greatly beloved and honored.

rica, Mass., and on the 18th of November received a united call from the church and the town to become their pastor. He accepted the call, and was ordained and installed January 26, 1763. The sermon on the occasion was preached by his friend and benefactor, the Rev. Daniel Emerson, from Hebrews xiii. 17. Even at the time of his settlement he regarded his preparation for the ministry as altogether inadequate, and he was often heard to say that he entered on his profession, and then fitted for it. He devoted himself to his studies with great assiduity, and became especially proficient in the Hebrew language, which he could not only read with fluency, but write with considerable ease.

During the Revolution Mr. Cummings showed himself an earnest friend of his country's independence. He labored, both in the pulpit and out of it, to diffuse the patriotic spirit, and strengthen the hands of those on whom the direction of the public concerns more immediately devolved. In 1783 he preached the annual sermon before the legislature,—a sermon characterized by the most enlightened views of civil government. The people of Billerica testified their appreciation of his knowledge and good judgment in civil matters by electing him a delegate to the Convention which framed the Constitution of Massachusetts.

In the year 1795 he preached the annual sermon before the Convention of Ministers in Massachusetts, and the same year delivered the Dudleian Lecture in Harvard College. In 1800 his Alma Mater conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

In February, 1813, on the completion of half a century from the time of his settlement, he preached a sermon in which he briefly reviewed his ministry, and intimated a wish to retire from the active duties of his office. In January, 1814, the Rev. Nathaniel Whit-

man * was ordained and installed as colleague pastor of the church. Though Dr. Cummings occasionally preached after this, yet he preferred, for the most part, to be a silent worshipper. He had naturally an athletic and vigorous constitution, but old age gradually made its inroads upon him. He died, in the utmost calmness, on the 5th of September, 1823. A sermon was preached at his funeral by the Rev. Wilkes Allen,† of Chelmsford, from 2 Samuel iii. 38,—"A great man is fallen this day in Israel."

Dr. Cummings was married May 19, 1763, to Ann Lambert, of South Reading. She died January 5, 1784. He was married November 14, 1788, to Margaret Briggs, who died June 2, 1790. He was married September 20, 1791, to Sarah, daughter of the Rev. Ebenezer Bridge,‡ of Chelmsford, and the eldest of thirteen children. She died February 25, 1812. He had five children, all by the first marriage.

Dr. Cummings may be regarded as the Unitarian

*Nathaniel Whitman was born at East Bridgewater, Mass., December 25, 1785, one of the fourteen children of Deacon John Whitman. He graduated at Harvard in 1809, studied theology, and taught for two years at Bowdoin College, and was ordained at Billerica, a colleague to Dr. Cummings, January 26, 1814. He resigned in 1835, having been sole pastor for twelve years. He was afterwards minister for five years at Wilton, N.H., for three years at Calais, Me., and for eight years (1844–52) at East Bridgewater, his native town. He died at Deerfield, Mass., October 29, 1869.

† Wilkes Allen was born in Sterling, Mass.; was graduated at Harvard College in 1801; was ordained pastor of the church in Chelmsford, November 16, 1803; and died in 1845. He published a Thanksgiving discourse entitled "Divine Favors gratefully Recollected," 1810, and a History of Chelmsford, Mass., to which is added a Memoir of the Pawtucket Tribe of Indians, 1820.

‡ Ebenezer Bridge was born in Boston; was graduated at Harvard College in 1736; was ordained minister of Chelmsford, May 20, 1741; and died October, 1792, aged seventy-eight. He published the Massachusetts Artillery Election Sermon, 1752, and the Massachusetts Election Sermon, 1767.

pioneer in the country towns of Middlesex County and Essex County. He was the leader of a group of liberal ministers, which included such well-known ministers as Dr. Eaton,[1] of Boxford, Dr. Packard,[2] of Chelmsford, Mr. Mottey,[3] of Lynnfield, and Dr. Symmes,[4] of North Andover.

"Dr. Cummings," wrote the Rev. Joseph Richardson, of Hingham, "was a fine specimen of physical, mental, and moral nobility. His frame was large and well proportioned. His countenance evinced a high order of intelligence and dignity. His air and manner assured you that you were in the company of no ordinary man. His fine social qualities rendered him a most agreeable companion. His sympathy and kindness he did not withhold even from the most unworthy. His public discourses were characterized by great boldness of style, and were delivered with a voice of very considerable power. My impression is that he had not a correct ear for music; but he delighted in the inspiring thoughts of the best poets, ancient and modern. No matter what subject might engage his attention, the movements of his mind were always sure, strong, and every way well adapted.

"Of the extent of his influence in the Church at large some idea may be formed from the fact that he was a member and moderator of a greater number of ecclesiastical councils than perhaps any other minister of his day. He was an earnest patriot, and zealously devoted to the cause of the American Revolution and of our National Independence and Union. It may be mentioned, as an evidence of the high attainments and character of Dr. Cummings, that, previous to the election of Dr. Willard to the presidency of Harvard College, he had been named by a number of influential individuals as a candidate for that office; but he declined the nomination."

His colleague, the Rev. Nathaniel Whitman, wrote:—

"One of the most prominent traits of Dr. Cummings's character was his inflexible adherence to general rules. He used often to say to me that one of the great deficiencies among Christians was their making exceptions to general rules too easily, and without a wise consideration of consequences.

"Let me illustrate: To accommodate the aged members of the church, he proposed, soon after his ordination, to omit the communion service in the winter season, and to increase the number of communion occasions in the pleasanter parts of the year. But the aged members said, 'No, we want the communion in the winter as well as the summer.' A short time after this the communion happened on a Sabbath which was extremely stormy and uncomfortable. The deacon called upon him in the morning, and said: 'You will, of course, sir, postpone the communion. Nobody can get to meeting to-day.' His answer was: 'No, the communion will not be postponed. They have deliberately decided that they will have the communion during the winter season. *That* is our rule, and I shall conform to it.' He would sometimes be requested to shorten the afternoon exercises on the Sabbath on account of a funeral which was to succeed them; but his answer would be, unless special reasons forbade: 'No, I shall not subordinate the established worship of God to such arrangements. You will soon want me to dispense with the afternoon service altogether on such occasions. I see no reason in such a request. We must maintain the regular worship. I will be at the funeral in good season.' A few days before his death he said to his grand-daughters who had the care of him: 'Is the house ready? I wish everything to be arranged, so that, when the solemn scene shall come, you may be able to be still and meditate.'

"Dr. Cummings was remarkable for the impartiality of his friendship towards all his people, as well as for the dexterous manner in which he sometimes manifested it. It was customary, at an early period in the history of the town, to hold the town meeting during the whole day. They would organize in the forenoon, and those living in the middle of the large town (as its boundaries then were) were accustomed to invite to dinner those who lived at a distance, and the minister used to practise the same civility in this respect as his neighbors. On one of these occasions, when he had a number of his parishioners sitting around his table, one of them, evidently with a view to exalt himself in the estimation of his minister, began to speak in a sort of confidential manner to him, to the disparagement of certain of his parishioners who were not present. The doctor turned round, with great dignity and sternness, and thus addressed his mistaken guest: 'I invited you to dine with me to-day as a friend to me, and not as a slanderer of any of my people, all of whom I consider my friends.' The reproof had the desired effect."

[1] Peter Eaton (1765–1848), a son of Joseph and Sarah (Webster) Eaton, was born at Haverhill, Mass., March 25, 1765. His ancestors for several generations had cultivated the same farm on which he was born; and his great-grandfather was killed by the Indians, near his own dwelling, in 1697. He commenced his preparation for college under the Rev. Phineas Adams, but finished it at Phillips Academy, Andover, of which he was among the earliest pupils; and he is said to have enjoyed in a high degree the confidence and good will of its first principal, Eliphalet Pearson. In 1783 he entered Harvard College, where he held a high rank as a scholar during his whole course, and was graduated in 1787. The year before he graduated Dr. Pearson accepted a professorship at Cambridge, and it was a source of high gratification to young Eaton that his relation to him as a pupil was thereby renewed.

On leaving college, he taught a school for one year in Woburn, and then passed some time in the study of theology under the direction

of the Rev. Mr. Adams. Having received license to preach, he preached his first sermon in Boxford on the 10th of January, 1789; and he was ordained to the work of the ministry and installed as the pastor of that church on the 7th of October following. The sermon on the occasion was preached by the Rev. Phineas Adams from Philippians ii. 29.

Mr. Eaton, according to the custom of the time, was settled upon a small salary (eighty pounds), with the additional consideration of a hundred and eighty pounds, which he received as a "settlement." Finding his salary inadequate to meet the necessities of his family, he made a formal request in 1805 that he might be employed as a teacher in one of the district schools within the limits of his parish, whereupon his people, waking up to the urgency of the case, voted an addition to his salary of one hundred dollars; and this they continued to do nearly every year until his relation to them as pastor was dissolved.

In 1819 Mr. Eaton preached the annual sermon before the legislature of Massachusetts, and in 1820 was honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard College.

Dr. Eaton continued in the diligent discharge of his duties as pastor until the year 1845, when he resigned his pastoral charge, though he retained a nominal connection with his people till the close of life. This measure was not the result of any diminution of attachment on either side; for, while he cherished a warm affection for them till the close of life, they followed him with their demonstrations of tender regard. He removed with his family to the South Parish in Andover, where he remained till the close of his life. He died of lung fever on the 14th of April, 1848, aged eighty-three years.

He was married on the 12th of September, 1792, to Sally, daughter of the Rev. Eliab Stone, of Reading. She died on the 12th of January, 1824. He was subsequently married to a widow lady, formerly of Salem, who survived him. He had six children,—four sons and two daughters,—all by the first marriage.

The Rev. Nathaniel Whitman wrote in 1864:—

"My venerated father and friend, Dr. Cummings, of Billerica, held Dr. Eaton in the very highest esteem as a man of sound and highly respectable talents, as a most worthy minister of the gospel of Christ, and as maintaining a character of marked independence, amiableness, peaceableness, seriousness, and exemplariness. He used to love to expatiate upon his excellences and testify his admiration for his character; and I think I have good reason for saying that Dr. Eaton fully reciprocated his high regard and esteem.

"Being on a visit at a certain time to Brother Loring, of North Andover, he invited me to take a ride to Boxford to see Dr. Eaton. I accepted his invitation. We found the Doctor, then very old, but hale and cheery, out in his field making hay. After a little miscellaneous chat, we got upon the subject of his continuing to preach at so advanced a period. He said that he was too old to perform the services of a pastor, and had several times made advances toward the resignation of his charge, but that he was always told that he must not quit yet, that he could not yet be spared; 'and so,' said he, 'I continue doing as well as I can, and living along peaceably and pleasantly with an affectionate and devoted people.'

"Dr. Eaton's manners were plain and simple, and showed little familiarity with the usages of polished society; but there was a generous frankness and honesty expressed by them much more attractive, as well as more effective, than any mere artificial culture. He had a sound judgment and good logical powers, and always moved forward to his conclusions with great care and thoughtfulness. His sermons were the product of his own independent reflection rather than of reading; and this often gave them an air of marked originality. His delivery was characterized by great fervor and earnestness and uncommon distinctness of enunciation, so that he may, on the whole, be said to have been a popular speaker. In his theological speculations I suppose him to have harmonized very nearly with Dr. Cummings, of Billerica, Dr. Lathrop, of Boston, Dr. Barnard, of Salem, Dr. Symmes, of Andover, and other of the earlier ministers of the Unitarian school. Though he was decided in his religious views, and did not hesitate to avow them on what he deemed suitable occasions, he was always most considerate in this respect of the feelings of others. So far from being a controversial preacher, he purposely avoided preaching much upon those doctrines which were in dispute; and some of his hearers, who were Calvinists, steadily maintained to the last that his creed did not differ materially from their own."

[2] Hezekiah Packard (1761–1849), a son of Jacob and Dorothy Packard, was born at North Bridgewater, Mass., on the 6th of December, 1761. He was the youngest of ten children. His father, who was a farmer in moderate circumstances, died while this son was yet in his childhood; but his mother lived to the age of ninety-three, and was remarkable for her vigorous sense, her strength of character, and her piety. At the commencement of the Revolutionary War, in 1775, though he was a mere stripling, he enlisted as a soldier in the army. At different times he was stationed at Cam-

bridge, Bunker Hill, Castle William (now Fort Independence), New York, Providence, Newport, etc. His connection with the army closed about the end of the year 1776; and at that time he had no other expectation than to settle down for life as a farmer.

In 1782, however, he began to prepare for college under the instruction of the Rev. John Reed, of the West Parish of Bridgewater, and in one year he had gone through the requisite course of study. He joined the Freshman Class at Cambridge in 1783, and was graduated in 1787. As he had little or no patrimony, he was obliged to avail himself of certain privileges which were granted to indigent students, and to teach a school during a part of each winter; but he still maintained a high standing in his class.

The first year after his graduation he taught the grammar school in Cambridge, and the next was an assistant librarian in the college. He entered the tutorship in the mathematical department in 1789, and continued to hold it four years. During this period his studies were directed with reference to the ministry; and in the latter part of the time he derived great advantage from the instructions of Dr. Tappan, who in 1792 became Hollis Professor of Theology.

In October, 1793, he was ordained to the work of the ministry, and installed as pastor of the church in Chelmsford, Mass. The next year he was married to Mary, daughter of the Rev. Alpheus Spring, of Kittery, West Parish (now Eliot), Me.

Mr. Packard remained at Chelmsford between eight and nine years, and in September, 1802, was installed at Wiscasset, Me., the sermon on the occasion being preached by Professor Tappan, of Harvard College.

After having been at Wiscasset three or four years, he yielded to the solicitation of several of his friends to take charge of a private school; and in the course of a short time that gave place to an academy, of which he was principal for several years. The double labor devolved upon him by his school and his parish was too severe a tax upon his constitution, and brought upon him some complaints from which he never fully recovered. After he withdrew from the academy he opened a private school in his own house, and fitted a large number of young men for college.

In the year 1818 he was honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard College.

In the spring of 1830 he resigned his charge at Wiscasset, and removed to Middlesex Village, a part of his former parish at Chelmsford, where he took charge of a small church, consisting partly of those who had formerly been under his pastoral care. Here he re-

mained in much comfort until the autumn of 1836, when he retired from active labor altogether. He died at Salem, April 25, 1849.*

[3] Joseph Mottey (1756–1821), a son of Joseph and Hannah (Ingals) Mottey, was born in Salem, Mass., May 14, 1756. His father was a native of the Isle of Jersey and of French extraction, but migrated to this country at an early period of life. During the War of the Revolution he removed from Salem to Chelmsford, where he died in June, 1777, aged fifty-two years. He was a shipmaster and owner, and his son Joseph, at about the age of fifteen, twice sailed with him to the West Indies. Joseph was fitted for college at Dummer Academy, Byfield, and at the age of about eighteen entered Dartmouth College, where he graduated in August, 1778.

Immediately after his graduation he was employed in Phillips Academy, Andover, then recently opened, and was the first assistant of its first preceptor, the Rev. Eliphalet Pearson. He was afterwards employed, either as assistant or principal, in Dummer Academy. The exact time when he began to preach cannot now be ascertained, though it is believed to have been soon after he left college. He supplied the pulpit at Lynnfield for three years, meanwhile declining all overtures of the people toward a permanent settlement; but he finally yielded to their wishes, and was ordained on the 24th of September, 1783. Here, within the limits of a small parish and in circumstances of great seclusion, he passed the remainder of his days.

He died on Monday, the 9th of July, 1821, after an illness of five days. Mr. Mottey was married to Eliza Moody, of York, Me., at Byfield, Mass., April 12, 1780. They had five children, three sons and two daughters. Mrs. Mottey died on the 27th of August, 1789, at the age of thirty-two, and Mr. Mottey lived a widower thirty-two years.

The Rev. Allen Gannett wrote of him: "Mr. Mottey was of medium size, erect figure, quick movements, and commanding presence. His complexion was light, his features regular, and his face altogether might be said to be handsome. His hair, which hung in ringlets about

* The following is a list of Dr. Packard's publications: The Plea of Patriotism, a Thanksgiving sermon preached at Chelmsford, 1795; A Sermon preached at the Ordination of Andrew Beattie (who was a native of Chelmsford, was graduated at Harvard College in 1795, was ordained and installed pastor of the church in Salisbury June 28, 1797, and died March 16, 1801); Federal Republicanism, two Fast sermons preached at Chelmsford, 1799; The Christian's Manual, 12mo, 1801; A Sermon preached at the Interment of Mrs. Betsey Wood, 1802; A Sermon preached in Camden, Me., at the Ordination of Thomas Cochran, 1805; Two Sermons on Infant Baptism, preached at Wiscasset about 1815; Dedicatory Address at the Opening of the Female Academy in Augusta, 1816.

his shoulders, had fallen off considerably some years before his death. He wore small-clothes until the last, and was very neat in personal appearance and in all his habits. One extremely cold winter's night, after going to bed, he came to the conclusion that he should certainly die before morning. While reflecting upon it, and on being found dead in his bed, he bethought him that his appearance, as he then was, would not be just what he should like. So, getting up, he put on clean linen, and jumped into bed again. Very soon he fell asleep, slept sound till morning, and on awaking was quite astonished to find that he was not dead. On the day of his funeral many went to see his garden, which he always took care of himself; and it was a common remark that there was not a weed to be found in it.

"In his temperament Mr. Mottey was nervous and sensitive. Naturally, also, he was very modest and diffident. He rarely appeared in any pulpit other than his own. Though only nine miles from Salem, his native place, he could not be persuaded to preach there. He used to say that he would rather preach three Sabbaths at home than one away. Even at home, it seems to have been sometimes a trial to him. His daughter has told me that he many times said to the family of a Sabbath morning that he should not live through the day. After the labors of the day were over, he would tell them that he felt very well, though he really thought in the morning he should not live till night. Yet he seems never to have been troubled with religious despondency or gloom.

"His peculiarities were marked and striking, amounting, perhaps, to eccentricity. A parishioner said to him one day, 'Mr. Mottey, you are a very odd man.' 'Yes,' said he, 'I set out to be a very good man, and soon found that I could not without being very odd.'

"His habits of intercourse with his people were free and familiar. He had great command of Scripture language, and was accustomed to blend it aptly in his conversation. Though seldom going abroad, he knew much better than many who were less recluse what was going on in the world. In his observance of the Sabbath he was always very strict. He said he did not wish to make it a distinctly Jewish Sabbath, but to keep it in a proper manner. With him it began on Saturday at sunset, and he would allow of no outdoor recreation or work in the house that could be put off till after the same time next day.

"Some time after his settlement his religious opinions underwent a change. The Rev. Mr. Damon, who knew him well, says it was 'at a period when his greatest afflictions were fresh upon him.' That was in 1789. In 1803 he published a sermon in which he discarded the view that 'the incarnation, obedience, and sufferings of Christ

were necessary to persuade the Deity to a placable disposition toward men,' or 'to satisfy Divine Justice." He was particularly hostile to the doctrine of original sin, regarding it as lying at the foundation of what is called the Orthodox Scheme. Having heard that one of his nearest neighbors in the ministry, who was among the high Hopkinsians, had a daughter born to him, meeting him one day, he asked what he called her. "Angelina," was the answer. "Angelina!" said Mr. Mottey. "I should think that with your notions you would call her Beelzebuba."

[4] William Symmes (1731–1807) was a descendant of the Rev. Zacharias Symmes, who came to this country in 1635, and settled in Charlestown, Mass. He was born in Charlestown in the year 1731, and was graduated at Harvard College in 1750, where he was a tutor from 1755 to 1758. On the 5th of December, 1757, he was invited to settle in the North Parish of Andover, and the third Wednesday of March following was appointed for his ordination; but, on account of his being visited by a severe illness, his ordination did not take place till the 1st of November, 1758. Here he continued his labors with great acceptance and usefulness nearly half a century. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard College in 1803. He died on the 3d of May, 1807, aged seventy-six.

The ministry of Dr. Symmes covered a very difficult and eventful period. He was settled during the French War. Soon after the Peace of 1763 the troubles between Great Britain and the Colonies commenced, which brought on the War of the Revolution. During this war the depreciation of the currency and the pressure on the people rendered it difficult for clergymen to support their families.

Dr. Symmes was a good scholar, of extensive reading, and an able divine. He devoted himself exclusively to his profession, and was occupied through life in theological pursuits. His sermons were written with great care and in a style remarkably neat, perspicuous, and correct. His preaching was plain and practical. Subjects of controversy he rarely brought into the pulpit. His discourses were not delivered with such fluency and grace as to charm and captivate the multitude; but they were highly valued by men of cultivated minds. Though he was constituted with much more than ordinary excitability, his self-control rarely failed him. He was called to experience many severe afflictions, but he bore them with exemplary fortitude and resignation. He was a strict observer of order and propriety. He was of about the middle height and somewhat corpulent, and he wore a white bush-wig in accordance with the fashion of his early days. His manners were dignified, but easy.

He was hospitable and benevolent, and by his urbanity rendered himself especially agreeable to strangers. He was distinguished for his prudence, his sound moral principles, his unshaken integrity and irreproachable conduct. It is a matter of regret that he gave a strict injunction that his manuscripts should be burned immediately after his death, which injunction was faithfully complied with. No other man in the town was probably so well acquainted as himself with the history of the settlement, and of the early settlers.

Dr. Symmes's publications were: A Thanksgiving Sermon, 1768; A Discourse on the Duty and Advantages of Singing Praises to God, 1779; and the Sermon at the General Election, 1785. He delivered the Dudleian Lecture in 1786, but it was not published.

He was married in 1750 to Anna, daughter of the Rev. Joshua Gee, of Boston. She died June 28, 1772. They had five sons and four daughters. His second wife was Susannah Powell, who died July, 1807, aged seventy-nine years.

The following is a list of Dr. Cummings's publications: A Sermon preached on the Day of Public Thanksgiving, 1766; A Sermon preached on the Day of Public Thanksgiving, 1775; A Sermon preached at Lexington on the Anniversary of the Commencement of Hostilities, 1781; A Sermon preached at the General Election, 1783; A Sermon preached on the Day of National Thanksgiving, 1783; A Sermon preached at the Ordination of Phineas Wright, 1785; A Discourse on Natural Religion, 1795; A Sermon preached on Thanksgiving Day, 1796; A Sermon preached on Thanksgiving Day, 1798; Right Hand of Fellowship to Elijah Dunbar, 1799; A Sermon delivered at Falmouth at the Ordination of Caleb Bradley, 1799; Eulogy on the late Patriot, George Washington, 1800; A Sermon preached on the Public Fast, 1801; A Charity Sermon preached at Roxbury, 1802; Charge given to Wilkes Allen, 1803; A Half-century Sermon preached at Billerica, 1813; Charge given to Nathaniel Whitman, 1814.

The above sketch of Dr. Cummings was derived by Dr. Sprague from Dr. Cummings's own Half-century Sermon and from Rev. Wilkes Allen's Funeral Sermon. The sketch of Dr. Symmes is condensed from the communication from Dr. Abiel Abbot, that of Mr. Mottey from an article by the Rev. David Damon, that of Dr. Eaton from various obituaries, and that of Dr. Packard from the memoir by his son, Professor A. S. Packard, of Bowdoin College.

SAMUEL WEST (OF BOSTON)

1738–1808

Samuel West was descended from Francis West, who was sent to America by the British government, with a commission as Vice-Admiral, shortly after the settlement at Plymouth, and took up a large tract of land in what is now Duxbury. He returned to England, but his son came over and took possession of the land; and from him all the Wests in New England are descended. One branch of the family settled in Martha's Vineyard. Thomas West, of the fifth generation, entered Harvard College in 1726, but in consequence of his early marriage left college at the end of two years, and did not receive his degree until 1759, twenty-nine years after the graduation of his class. At the age of about thirty-five he began to study divinity, under the direction of the Rev. Experience Mayhew, the well-known missionary among the Indians on Martha's Vineyard. Soon after he began to preach, he was settled as colleague of Mr. Mayhew, in which situation he continued five or six years, and then accepted an invitation to take charge of a small parish, known as the third parish in Rochester. Here he died in the year 1790.

Samuel West, the son of Thomas, was born at Martha's Vineyard, November 19 (O.S.), 1738, and spent his early years in hard labor. As his father was poor and found it difficult to support the family, it was not originally designed to give him a collegiate education; but such was his thirst for knowledge, and his ability to acquire it, that his father finally yielded to his wish to go to college. After encountering many obstacles during a preparatory course

of about two years, he was well fitted to enter; and he was accordingly admitted a member of Harvard University, at an advanced standing, in 1758, when he was in his twentieth year. With the aid that he received from his father, in connection with some favors granted him by President Holyoke and the avails of teaching during some of his vacations, he was enabled to pass through college without much embarrassment; and he graduated with high honor in 1761.

Mr. West had his eye upon the ministry from the time that he began to prepare for college, and began preaching very soon after he graduated. Through the influence of the Hon. Thomas Hubbard, commissary of the province, he was appointed chaplain at Fort Pownal on the Penobscot. Though he felt that his preparation for the ministry was very inadequate, yet, as he had a few sermons written and as Dr. Mayhew lent him a number of books and Mr. Hubbard promised him others, and as he had really been, in some sense, a student of divinity from very early life, he accepted the appointment. His engagement was for one year; and his pay was four pounds a month, with rations. He accordingly went to Maine in November, 1761, and found himself very agreeably situated in the family of Brigadier-General Preble. He passed the year very pleasantly and profitably.

In June, 1763, he was invited to preach as a candidate at Needham; and he accepted an invitation to settle, partly out of respect to his father's advice and partly in the hope of being able to assist a brother in obtaining an education. His salary was a little less than seventy-five pounds a year. He was ordained on the 25th of April, 1764, in the twenty-sixth year of his age, the ceremony being performed in the open air on account of the church being too small to

accommodate the congregation. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Samuel West, of New Bedford; and the charge was delivered by his father.

On the 23d of February, 1769, Mr. West was married to a Miss Plimpton, of Medfield. They had four children.

In the year 1786 his people were induced to come to some settlement with him for arrearages of salary due to the Revolutionary War; and, in order to provide for the future, he proposed to them that he would relinquish the whole amount on condition that they would consent to his leaving them if he should at any time desire it. They agreed to the proposal, he making a sacrifice of one hundred pounds. The state of things in his parish did not, however, become better, and he was subjected to continual suspense and vexation. While he was in this state of extreme embarrassment, he received a call from the Hollis Street Church, Boston, as successor to the Rev. Mr. Wight. On mature reflection, and in accordance with the advice of his father, he accepted the call (November 16, 1788). When he returned to Needham for his family, he was received with great coldness. He dispensed with the usual formality of having a council to dissolve the relation between him and his people, on the ground that he considered it a contract not more sacred than any other. This was regarded by some of his brethren as a censurable irregularity. After his settlement in Boston the unkind feelings which had existed among his former charge gradually died away; and, as he met individuals among them from time to time, he manifested nothing toward them but good will, and thus at no distant period succeeded in recovering his place in their affections.

His installation at Boston took place on the 12th of March, 1789, the sermon on the occasion being

preached by himself, from 2 Corinthians iv. 1. In this new field of labor, being exempt from all pecuniary embarrassments, he labored with great diligence, and quickly won the confidence of his people. Without division or debate of any kind the society and its minister became more and more liberal in theology. Dr. West's preaching was practical, and a large part of his time he spent in visiting in the houses of his people. He was honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Dartmouth College in 1798.

In September, 1803, he intimated to his people a wish for assistance in his public services, leaving it to them to decide in respect to his support. They acted in accordance with his suggestion; and from that time he preached but seldom. After he was confined to his bed, he dictated to an amanuensis an autobiography of great interest, and also furnished to the Boston *Centinel* a series of articles, over the signature of "The Old Man," which attracted considerable attention. At length, after a confinement to his bed of twenty-six weeks, he expired on the 10th of April, 1808. His funeral sermon was preached by his friend, Dr. John Lathrop, from 2 Timothy i. 12. It was afterward published in connection with a biographical sketch written by Rev. Thomas Thacher,* of Dedham, from which this sketch is derived.

*Thomas Thacher (1756–1812) was a descendant, in the fourth generation, from the Rev. Thomas Thacher, the first minister of the Old South Church in Boston. He was a son of Oxenbridge Thacher, Esq., a lawyer of Boston, and was born on the 24th of October, 1756. At the age of fifteen he entered Harvard College, where he was a vigorous and successful student, and graduated in 1775. How or where he spent the five years immediately succeeding his graduation does not appear, but on the 7th of June, 1780, he was ordained and installed pastor of the Third Church in Dedham. Certain indiscretions of his youth had awakened prejudices against him, so that his ministry did not commence under the fairest

The Rev. John Pierce, of Brookline, wrote of him:—

"Dr. West's habit of preaching differed, in his latter years, from that of most of his brethren around him. In the former part of his ministry he was accustomed to write his sermons fully out, and read them from the pulpit; but about 1775 his circumstances became so much straitened as to forbid his taking the time for such mature preparation, and he commenced preach-

auspices; and his peculiarities of temper and manner were such that those early prejudices probably never entirely died out.

Mr. Thacher took a deep interest in the politics of his day. In 1788 he was chosen a delegate to the Convention for ratifying the Federal Constitution, and made an earnest speech in behalf of its ratification. More than most of the ministers of that period he carried political subjects into the pulpit, and discussed them with a freedom and boldness that gave him no enviable distinction with at least a portion of his hearers.

Mr. Thacher's social habits were modified by the fact that he lived till the close of life a bachelor. There is a tradition that in the early part of his ministry he made an unsuccessful effort to cast off that character, and that he resolved he would not expose himself to a second disappointment. But, though he had no wife to direct his domestic concerns, he was one of the most hospitable of men, and would sometimes carry his attentions to his guests to such a length that they even became burdensome. His attachment to his people was of the most devoted kind; and one of the sorest afflictions of his life was that nearly a third part of his little flock left him, and joined a Baptist society, on account of being dissatisfied with the location of a new meeting-house.

Mr. Thacher died on the 19th of October, 1812, in the fifty-sixth year of his age and the thirty-third of his ministry. His funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. Stephen Palmer, Dr. West's successor at Needham, from John xvii. 4.

There was something significant in the manner in which he disposed of his property. After making legacies to a few friends, he bequeathed the whole to his parish on condition that they should settle a minister within five years from his death, and that he and all his successors should be graduates of Harvard College, and should have received no part of their education at the Theological Seminary at Andover.

ing without notes. His people very soon expressed their preference for that mode of preaching, and on that account he continued it. After he removed to Boston, it was his invariable custom to compose his sermons, even to the whole of the language, and, without committing one word to writing, to deliver them *memoriter*. His preaching was characterized by good sense and felicitous arrangement of thought; but he

The Rev. Samuel Osgood wrote of him:—

"Mr. Thacher was a man of portly and commanding figure, and had a face expressive of much more than common intellectual power. His manners were sufficiently free and cordial, but somewhat blunt, and indicative of what he really possessed,—great independence of character. You could not meet him in the most casual interview without perceiving that he had not the fear of men before his eyes. He had great power of sarcasm, and he indulged it sometimes perhaps without the most delicate regard to circumstances. But there was a manifest openness and honesty of purpose that all recognized as a redeeming feature, and as rendering less objectionable that unceremonious bluntness, and even severity which could hardly fail sometimes to give offence.

"I believe it was generally considered that Mr. Thacher's very decided fondness, amounting almost to a passion, for witticism, abated somewhat from both the dignity and the efficiency of his ministerial character. He was observed on a Sabbath afternoon repeatedly to smile in the pulpit; and when some person, at the close of the service, asked him what was the cause of it, he replied, "Why, I was preaching the very same sermon, word for word, this afternoon that I had preached in the morning; and I was laughing to see how gravely you took it,—just as if you had never heard it before." On one occasion he exchanged with Mr. Buckminster, of Boston. There were a number of young men who were attracted to the Brattle Street Church by Mr. Buckminster's eloquence; and, if they found any other minister in the pulpit, they were accustomed abruptly to leave the house. When they saw Mr. Thacher there, probably without knowing who he was, they, as usual, rose and moved out. Mr. Thacher observed the indecorum, and alluded to it at his nephew's during the intermission, remarking at the same time, "I have at least shown myself possessed of one apostolical gift to-day,—that of casting out devils."

had little animation or pathos, and of course was not distinguished for awakening emotion in others."*

* Dr. West was succeeded at Hollis Street Church by:—

(1) Horace Holley, a son of Luther Holley, was born in Salisbury, Conn., February 13, 1781, and was fitted for college at an academy at Williamstown, Mass. He graduated at Yale in 1803, studied law for a few months, and then began the study of theology with President Dwight. He was licensed to preach in September, 1804, and was ordained minister of the church in Greenfield, of which Dr. Dwight had been the minister, September 18, 1805. Three years later he was called to succeed Dr. West in Hollis Street Church, and was installed on the 8th of March, 1809. Though of the most rigid orthodox training and in the early days of his ministry a Trinitarian, Holley rapidly became, after the manner of converts, one of the foremost liberals of his generation. His mind was clear and logical, quick and accurate. Nature made him a leader before men chose him for that service. He was a man of fine personal appearance, with a head of classic beauty, a master of the art of public speech. Throughout his ministry at Hollis Street he was the most popular preacher of the city, and his church was thronged with worshippers. Two years after his installation an enlarged and beautiful meeting-house was built for him, and Hollis Street Church sheltered the most influential of all the Boston congregations. Yet, in spite of his abundant success, Mr. Holley apparently became restive under the toil of parish life, and was persuaded in 1818 to accept an invitation to the presidency of Transylvania University in Lexington, Ky.,—an enterprise that went down in failure. He then undertook an equally difficult task of restoring a college in New Orleans, where he was attacked by yellow fever, and died at sea, July 31, 1827.

(2) John Pierpont. See Vol. II. p. 185.

(3) Thomas Starr King. See Vol. III. p. 191.

The following is a list of Dr. West's printed discourses: A Sermon preached at the Ordination of Jonathan Newell, 1774; A Sermon delivered in the Second Church, Dedham, on Occasion of the Death of Two Young Men, 1785; Two Discourses delivered on the Day of the Public Fast, 1785; A Sermon delivered on the Day of the General Election, 1786; A Sermon preached at his Instalment in Boston, 1789; A Sermon preached on Occasion of the Artillery Election, 1794; A Sermon preached on Occasion of the National Thanksgiving, 1795; A Sermon occasioned by the Death of George Washington, 1799.

The foregoing sketch is condensed from the article which Dr. Sprague derived from Dr. West's autobiography and Mr. Thacher's article noted above. The account of Mr. Thacher is derived from a manuscript sent by Dr. John Pierce to Dr. Sprague and from Worthington's History of Dedham. The note on Mr. Holley is derived from Rev. George L. Chaney's Historical Discourses in Hollis Street Church.

JOHN LATHROP

1740–1816

John Lathrop was born in Norwich, Conn., May 17, 1740, and was the youngest but one of ten brothers. Resolved to become a minister, he in due time entered Princeton College, where he received his Bachelor's degree in 1763.

For some months after his graduation he was engaged as an assistant teacher with the Rev. Dr. Wheelock in Moor's Indian Charity School at Lebanon, Conn., and at the same time availed himself of Dr. Wheelock's instruction in theology. After he received approbation to preach, he worked for a short time as a missionary among the Indians, and in 1767 was invited to settle at Taunton and Reading, both of which invitations, however, he declined. Shortly after, he preached as a candidate at the Second or Old North Church in Boston, from which he received a unanimous call, and was ordained May 18, 1768. In 1775, when Boston was in possession of the British army, he set out to find a refuge in his native place; but, as he was passing through Providence on his way to Norwich, proposals were made to him to supply a destitute congregation there, to which he consented. Upon the evacuation of Boston he returned, to find that the ancient house in which he had been accustomed to preach had been demolished, and used for fuel by the British troops. It was ninety-eight years old, but was still considered "a model of the first architecture in New England." Mr. Lathrop's society accepted an invitation to occupy the New Brick Church; and after the death of Dr. Pemberton, minister of the New Brick, in the follow-

ing year, the two societies united. On the 27th of June, 1779, Mr. Lathrop became their joint pastor; and in this relation he continued during the remainder of his life. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Edinburgh in 1784.

Dr. Lathrop was born and received his early education in Connecticut, where scarcely any other form of doctrine than Calvinism was then known. At what period in his ministry the change in his views took place no one is able to say, but that he actually did become a Unitarian is beyond all doubt. He said little on these subjects in private, and nothing at all in public. His settlement in Boston brought him in contact with such men as Drs. Chauncy, Howard, Eliot, Belknap, Clarke, and others of a similar stamp; and, as he was on terms of the most intimate intercourse with them, his opinions, perhaps insensibly to himself, came into essential harmony with theirs. His church followed him in his advance, and without hesitation settled an avowed Unitarian, Henry Ware, Jr., as his successor.

Dr. Lathrop's preaching was practical rather than doctrinal, sensible rather than ornate, instructive, but not moving. His sermons were short, according to the standards of his time, not ordinarily exceeding twenty-five minutes in the delivery. His manner of speaking in the pulpit was deliberate. The thoughts which he expressed were generally somewhat obvious, and partook, like the character of his own mind, more of correctness than originality. Without any extraordinary gifts, he was much respected for the soberness of his judgment, and for a multitude of useful labors for the public good. His long ministry of fifty years brought forth rich fruits.

He was an ardent patriot. His sermons strengthened the people to resist oppression, and his church

was called by the British a "nest of hornets." He mingled with the Revolutionary leaders in Boston, and had part in their counsels. From the time of the formation of the Constitution he was a uniform and ardent Federalist. During the War of 1812 he was, like most of his brethren, convinced that the government was greatly in fault, and did not hesitate to speak out his convictions, both in public and in private.

Dr. Lathrop exerted no inconsiderable influence in his day, but he was indebted for it rather to his uniformly judicious course than to any remarkable intellectual endowments or acquirements. In his intercourse with society at large he was generous and public-spirited. With his ministerial brethren he maintained the most affectionate familiarity, and even the youngest of them felt attracted to his kind and open heart. In his family he was a model of whatever is fitted to render happy and useful the most endearing relations.

Dr. Lathrop was connected with almost all the benevolent societies of the community; but his most conspicuous service, outside of his church, was rendered from 1778 until his death, as a Fellow of the Corporation of Harvard College. He was one of the majority of the board which in 1805 chose Henry Ware, Sr., to be Hollis Professor of Divinity, and by that vote brought on the active phase of the "Unitarian Controversy."

Dr. Charles Lowell, writing in 1853, described him as follows:—

"Dr. Lathrop was, in many respects, an uncommonly interesting man,—interesting, not from the fluency or wit or brilliancy of his conversation, although his words were always wise and pleasant, but from the sweetness of his disposition, the gentleness of his manners, and the simplicity and purity

of his mind and heart. Whilst his age and the venerableness of his appearance inspired respect and reverence, his benignant countenance and gentle, winning address conciliated confidence and affection. There was a childlike simplicity about him, without anything of childishness, and a remarkable cheerfulness without anything of levity. I have often been with him alone and in company, and I feel assured that I never heard a word or witnessed an action from him that I could wish unsaid or undone. In his old age he retained his youthful feelings, and adapted himself wonderfully to circumstances in his intercourse with his younger brethren. He used often to say that, though he had lost all the associates and friends of earlier life, he did not feel alone. His younger brethren supplied the places of those who were gone, and he was hardly sensible of any difference. The truth is, his own disposition, in a good measure, brought about this result. He made others easy and happy by his intercourse with them, and there was a reflex influence on himself. His junior brethren, to the close of life, sustained and cheered him, under God, as Aaron and Hur held up the arms of Moses till the going down of the sun.

"In stature Dr. Lathrop was rather tall, his features were large, his eyes and eyebrows dark, if not black. When I first knew him, he wore the full-bottomed white wig, such as was usually worn by the elderly ministers of that time; but some years before his death he wore his own hair, silvered by age, extending over his neck behind, but not flowing. His countenance had the floridness of a temperate and healthy old age."

Dr. Lathrop discharged his various duties regularly and acceptably until a very short time before his death. He died on the 4th of January, 1816,

in the seventy-sixth year of his age and forty-eighth of his ministry. His funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. Francis Parkman, from Zechariah i. 5, —"Your fathers, where are they?" It describes "his unfeigned piety, his amiable temper, his serene dignity, his public spirit, his devoted attachment to liberty, his unyielding defence of the rights of conscience." The burial was in the Granary Burying-ground.

He was one of the counsellors of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; president of the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society and of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; vice-president of the Massachusetts Bible Society and of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in North America; member of the Scotch Board of Commissioners and of the American Antiquarian Society.

The following is a list of Dr. Lathrop's publications: A Sermon occasioned by the Boston Massacre, 1770; A Sermon to a Religious Society of Young Men at Medford, 1771; An Artillery Election Sermon, 1774; A Thanksgiving Sermon, 1774; A Sermon on the Fifth of March, 1778; A Sermon on the Death of his Wife, 1778; A Sermon at the Ordination of William Bentley, 1783; A Discourse occasioned by the Return of Peace, 1783; A Discourse before the Humane Society of Massachusetts, 1787; A Catechism for the Use of Children (two editions), 1791 and 1813; The Dudleian Lecture at Harvard College, 1793; A Discourse addressed to the Charitable Fire Society, 1796; A Sermon on Fires in Boston, 1797; A Fast Sermon occasioned by the Yellow Fever, 1798; A Sermon on the National Fast, 1799; A Sermon on the Commencement of the Nineteenth Century (in two parts), 1801; A Sermon before the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1804; A Sermon before the Boston Female Asylum, 1804; A Sermon at the Dismission of the Rev. Joseph McKean at Milton, 1804; A Sermon at the Interment of the Rev. Samuel West, D.D., 1808; Thanksgiving Sermon, 1808; A Sermon on the Death of his Wife, Mrs. Elizabeth Lathrop, 1809; A Sermon at the Interment of the Rev. Dr. Eckley, 1811; A Thanksgiving Sermon, 1811; A Discourse delivered on the Author's Birthday, 1812; Two Fast Sermons occasioned by the War of 1812–15, 1812; A Sermon on the Death of the Rev. John Eliot, D.D., 1813; Biographical Memoir of the Rev. John Lothrop, 1813; A Sermon at the Dedication of a Church in Dorchester, 1813; A Sermon on the Law of Retaliation, 1814; A Sermon preached at Weymouth, at the Interment of Miss Mary P. Bicknell, 1814; A Thanksgiving Sermon on the Return of Peace, 1815; A Compendious History of the Late War, 1815.

The facts of this sketch of Dr. Lathrop are derived from Dr. Parkman's Funeral Sermon, and from a manuscript sent to Dr. Sprague by Dr. John Pierce, of Brookline. See also Chandler Robbins's History of the Second Church (with a portrait) and the Proceedings at the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Second Church.

JEREMY BELKNAP

1744–1798

Jeremy Belknap, the eldest child of Joseph and Sarah (Byles) Belknap, was born in Boston, June 4, 1744. His mother was a niece of the celebrated Dr. Mather Byles. His father was a leather-dresser and dealer in furs and skins. Both his parents were members of the Old South Church. After having been for some time under the instruction of that celebrated teacher, Master Lovell, young Belknap entered Harvard College at the close of 1758, when he was in his fifteenth year. He graduated in July, 1762, and immediately after took charge of the grammar school at Milton. Here he continued, with the exception of a brief interval during the next winter, until March, 1764. One of his pupils was Peter Thacher, afterward the Rev. Dr. Thacher of Brattle Street Church, Boston; and there grew up between them an affectionate and enduring intimacy.

About the close of the year 1764 he took charge of a school at Portsmouth, N.H., and became a boarder in the family of the Rev. (afterward Dr.) Samuel Haven. The next summer he accepted an invitation to take charge of a school at Greenfield, a few miles from Portsmouth; and here he continued till he entered on the work of the ministry.

His first sermon was preached at Portsmouth in the pulpit of his friend Mr. Haven; and for several succeeding months he was engaged in preaching in different parishes in that neighborhood. His services met with uncommon acceptance; and in July, 1766, he was invited to preach at Dover, as an assistant

of the Rev. Mr. Cushing,* who was disabled by bodily infirmity. He accepted the invitation, and before the close of the following winter received a formal call to settle as Mr. Cushing's colleague, which he accepted. There was, however, one difficulty in the way of his acceptance of the call, which, but for the strong attachment to him, would probably have been insurmountable. The church had been accustomed to receive members on the plan of the Half-way Covenant, which he was fully persuaded was unscriptural and of evil tendency. He announced that he could never recognize that principle. The church yielded to his wishes, and from that time the Half-way Covenant had no existence among them. His ordination took place on the 18th of February, 1767, and the sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Haven, of Portsmouth. In June succeeding his ordination he was married to Ruth, daughter of Samuel Eliot, of Boston.

Mr. Belknap had the spirit of an earnest patriot, and was awake to every movement that betokened good or ill to his country. Both voice and pen were put in requisition in the cause of freedom. During the excitement and distress occasioned by the Boston Port Act, he made a most impressive appeal to the sympathies of the people of New Hampshire, in aid of their afflicted friends; and about the same time he wrote a scathing address "To the Gentlemen of the Army, now encamped on Boston Common." While Boston was occupied by the British troops, he went thither in great haste to effect the removal of his parents; and, after a detention of some time in the neighborhood, he finally succeeded in accom-

* JONATHAN CUSHING was a native of Hingham; was graduated at Harvard College in 1712; was ordained at Dover, N.H., September 18, 1717; and died March 25, 1769, aged seventy-nine.

plishing his object. They both subsequently lived with him at Dover. His mother died in 1784, aged sixty-nine; his father, in 1797, aged eighty-one.

In July, 1775, he was chosen by the New Hampshire Committee of Safety to be chaplain to their troops at Cambridge; but, owing to his precarious health, he felt constrained to decline. In October following he visited the camp at Cambridge, where he became acquainted with several of the most distinguished officers of the army, and had the honor of dining with Dr. Franklin, who was there on public business as one of a Committee from the Continental Congress.

In July, 1784, he made a tour to the White Mountains, in company with six other gentlemen. A record of this journey, in considerable detail, is preserved in the third volume of his History of New Hampshire, though he makes no allusion to his having himself been one of the party. In June, 1785, he preached the Annual Election Sermon before the General Court of New Hampshire, on "The True Interest of the State, and the Best Means of Promoting its Prosperity." This patriotic and well-reasoned production was published and widely read.

From the beginning of his ministry at Dover he had been subjected to no little embarrassment by reason of the failure of his congregation to fulfil their financial engagements with him. At length the evil became so great that both his duty and his interest forbade farther endurance of it. Accordingly, in September, 1786, he resigned, although he had at the time no other place of settlement in view, and a family dependent upon him.

In 1784 his first volume of the History of New Hampshire was published by the aid of his friend, Ebenezer Hazard, of Philadelphia. The second and third

volumes were published at Boston in 1791 and 1792. The idea of such a work seems to have occurred to him as early as 1772; and it occupied his attention, in a greater or less degree, from that time till its completion. The project at an early period found favor with his friend Governor Wentworth, who cheerfully gave him access to his papers, and lent him whatever aid was in his power. It is unnecessary to add anything in commendation of a work that at once took its place among the standard histories.

After resigning his charge at Dover, he preached successively, for some time, at Exeter, Concord, Beverly, and some other places. While he was at Exeter, an insurrection occurred there, which is somewhat memorable in the annals of New Hampshire, and of which his History of the State contains a minute and interesting account. The church in Long Lane (now Federal Street), Boston, having exchanged the Presbyterian for the Congregational form of government, and being at that time vacant, in consequence of the resignation of the Rev. Robert Annan, Mr. Belknap was called in January, 1787, to take the pastoral charge of it. The engagement of the society was as follows:—

"We promise to pay him for his support, from the time he commences his charge, the sum of two pounds, eight shillings, lawful money, per week, or quarterly, if he chooses it, during the whole time of his ministry among us; and, in case our society shall increase, and the pews be all occupied, the salary shall then be increased to a comfortable support."

Mr. Belknap had for many years been deeply interested for the freedom of the blacks. The subject had occupied both his mind and his pen during the Revolutionary War; but in the year 1788 he drew up a petition to the General Court for the abo-

lition of the slave trade, which, being seconded by his brethren in the ministry of various denominations, as well as by a large number of other citizens, actually prevailed to the passage of the desired act. He afterward corresponded on this subject with Moses Brown, the well-known philanthropist of Providence, and was elected a member of the Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade in Rhode Island.

In 1792 he was honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard College.

Dr. Belknap's taste for historical research gave rise to that noble institution,—the Massachusetts Historical Society. He formed the plan of it as early as 1790, and in 1791 it was actually organized. It was incorporated in 1794, with the Hon. James Sullivan president, the Rev. James Freeman recording secretary, and Dr. Belknap corresponding secretary. In 1792 he delivered, by request of this society, a discourse to commemorate the discovery of America by Columbus. In 1794 he published the first volume of American biography, entitled "An Historical Account of those Persons who have been distinguished in America as Adventurers, Statesmen, Philosophers, Divines, Warriors, Authors, and Other Remarkable Characters." He lived to complete the second volume, but not to see it from the press, as the printing was in progress at the time of his death. He seems to have planned this work at least as early as 1779, and he must have been carrying forward this and his History at the same time.

In an address in 1854, before the New York Historical Society, William Cullen Bryant said that Jeremy Belknap had the "high merit of being the first to make American history attractive." It may be added that he was also the first to bring to the search for the materials of history a thoroughly historical

taste and an impartial judgment. He was not only the founder of the Massachusetts Historical Society, but its most efficient member and the master spirit in its counsels and works. This society, as part of the celebration of its one hundredth anniversary, published three handsome and well-edited volumes of the "Belknap Papers." The first two volumes contained the correspondence between Dr. Belknap and Ebenezer Hazard, Postmaster-General of the United States; and these letters are a mine of curious and valuable information concerning the struggles and aspirations of American authors and about the quickened intellectual activities of the times. The last volume contains the letters of many distinguished Americans addressed to Dr. Belknap. Among the writers are: John and Abigail Adams; Noah Webster; Morse, the geographer; Rush, the philanthropist; Walton, the naturalist; Ramsay and Gordon, the historians; General Lincoln; Rev. Joseph Buckminster; Sir John Wentworth; and, most frequently, Dr. John Eliot.

In 1795 he published "Dissertations on the Character, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus Christ, and the Evidence of his Gospel"; and in the same year his famous Hymn-book, concerning which he says in his preface: "In this selection those Christians, who do not scruple to sing praises to their Redeemer and Sanctifier, will find materials for such a sublime employment; whilst others, whose tenderness of conscience may oblige them to confine their addresses to the Father only, will find no deficiency of matter suited to their idea of the chaste and awful spirit of devotion." For many years this collection was extensively used in the New England churches.

In 1796 he preached the Annual Convention Sermon before the Congregational clergy of Massachu-

setts. In it he illustrates with great felicity the peculiar trials of ministers, and shows that, with all the prudence that marked his character, he was far from lacking in independence.

In the same year he went, in company with Dr. Morse, in behalf of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, to visit the Indians at Oneida and Stockbridge in the State of New York. Notwithstanding his journey was a very pleasant one, the result of his visit to the Indians was a conviction that little was to be hoped for in respect to civilizing or Christianizing them. He withdrew from the society shortly afterward.

On the 20th of June, 1798, at four o'clock in the morning, Dr. Belknap died suddenly of apoplexy. His funeral was attended on the 22d, and the sermon on the occasion was preached by the Rev. Dr. Kirkland. He left a widow and five children. Mrs. Belknap, a lady of high intellectual and moral qualities, and loved by a large circle of friends, died January 20, 1809.*

Dr. Belknap was an overseer of Harvard College, a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, an honorary member of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, a member of the

* Dr. Belknap was succeeded at Federal Street Church by

(1) John Snelling Popkin, who retained the charge only three years, and then resigned against the wishes of the parish on account of his own modest estimate of his ability to maintain so important a post. He served as minister of the First Church in Newbury until 1815, when he became professor of Greek at Harvard, continuing in this congenial occupation until his resignation in 1833. He died in 1852. For an accurate and entertaining account of his career and peculiarities see Dr. Peabody's Harvard Reminiscences, p. 40.

(2) William Ellery Channing. See Vol. II. p. 118.

(3) Ezra Stiles Gannett. See Vol. III. p. 138.

(4) John F. W. Ware. See Vol. III. p. 365.

Humane Society, etc. It was matter of conscience with him to discharge the duties belonging to these various relations with the utmost punctuality and fidelity.

The following estimate of Dr. Belknap's character as a minister is from Dr. Kirkland's sermon at his funeral:—

"If a judicious and seasonable choice of subjects, pertinency of thoughts, clearness of method, and warmth of application; if language plain and perspicuous, polished and nervous; if striking illustrations; if evangelical doctrines and motives; if a seriousness and fervor evincing that the preacher's own mind was affected; if a pronunciation free and natural, distinct and emphatical, be excellences in public teaching,—you, my brethren of this society, have possessed them in your deceased pastor. Your attention was never drawn from the great practical views of the gospel by the needless introduction of controversial subjects, and your minds perplexed, nor your devotional feelings damped by the cold subtleties of metaphysic. His preaching was designed to make you good and happy, and not to gain your applause; whilst the manner, as well as matter, was suited to affect the heart, no attempt was made to overbear your imaginations, and excite your passions by clamorous and affected tones.

"You are witnesses to what is lost no less in private conduct and example than in public ministrations, how well his life became his doctrine; how the divine, moral, and social virtues appeared in him in the various scenes of life, in the hours of adversity, and in his intercourse with his people. You are witnesses how kind and inoffensive, yet plain and sincere, was his demeanor towards you; how tender and sympathetic were his feelings; for he could say, 'Who is

weak and I am not weak? Who is offended and I burn not? Have I not wept with him who was in trouble?' You are witnesses how useful was his conversation, how simple and unaffected were his manners. The sick are witnesses of his attention, his fidelity, and tenderness, in comforting the believing, in warning the sinner, and confirming the doubtful. The unreasonable and censorious are witnesses of his patience and indulgence; the unbelieving of his desire to convince them; the afflicted and despondent of the sweetness of his consolations and his gentle encouragement; the poor of his ready advice and assistance, and, to the extent of his abilities, his alms; the rich of his Christian independence united with a becoming complaisance; and the profligate of his grief for their depravity, of his utter disapprobation of their characters."

The Hon. Josiah Quincy, president of Harvard College, wrote of Dr. Belknap:—

"The habit of his body was plethoric, and indicated a tendency to apoplexy, of which he died. His general aspect was heavy, and of that mixed impression conveyed by an acquaintance with mankind, superinduced on a studious and retired life. There was a suavity in his manner, which won an interest for what he said, combined with a simplicity both of language and bearing, the effect of which I cannot better express than by calling it *taking*.

"In conversation he was unobtrusive, never assuming to lead; and his partaking in it seemed rather a deference to the apparent expectation, or expressed wish, of others than any particular desire of his own. When he did speak, he never failed to satisfy, for it was always to the point, often pithy; and, if the subject admitted, a flash of wit would enliven his thought, and show that an electric power resided under that

heavy and clouded brow. Kindness and good humor predominated both in his look and address. He possessed a natural vein of humor, of which something is shown in his tale of 'The Foresters,' and which, when touched by the occasion, gave a quiet, yet stimulating, raciness to his remarks.

"Undoubtedly, he was a man greatly respected and beloved by his contemporaries. He filled a wide space in the history of his own time, which the events of the future, however crowded may be the canvas with distinguished men, cannot wholly obliterate from memory."

The Rev. John Pierce, D.D., wrote:—

"His features were small, and his face much pitted with the small-pox. His talents and acquirements were universally acknowledged to be of a high order, and few of his contemporaries in the ministry shared more largely than he in public favor. His prayers in public were but little varied, and he was almost motionless in the pulpit. Scarcely did he appear even to move his lips. Still he was always listened to with attention, on account of the vigorous tone of thought and perspicuity of expression which pervaded all his public performances. As a striking instance of both his reserve in speaking and his facility in writing, Dr. Freeman, who knew him intimately, told me that in 'society meetings' he would often choose to express what he had to say to a neighbor by writing rather than by speaking.

"One of Dr. Belknap's most intimate friends was Dr. Clarke, whom he survived only about twelve weeks. Never shall I lose the impression of the touching and beautiful tribute which Dr. Belknap paid to the memory of his friend at the next Thursday lecture after their separation took place, when he took for his text that tender and beautiful expression of our Saviour

concerning Lazarus,—'Our friend sleepeth.' His whole heart was in his utterances, and the whole audience seemed moved by a common sympathy."

In addition to the several works of Dr. Belknap already referred to, he published An Elegy on the Rev. Alexander Cumming, 1763; A Serious Address to a Parishioner on the Neglect of Public Worship; A Sermon on Jesus Christ, the only Foundation, preached before an association of ministers in New Hampshire; A Sermon at the Ordination of Jedediah Morse, 1789; The Foresters, An American Tale, 1792; A Sermon on the National Fast, 1793. Two of his Sermons on the Institution and Observation of the Sabbath were published after his death, 1801. In addition to the above he contributed extensively to various periodicals.

For Dr. Belknap's life and work see J. T. Kirkland's Funeral Sermon, 1798; J. Eliot's Character of J. Belknap, in the Massachusetts *Mercury* of June 26, 1798; Sketch of the Life and Character of Rev. Dr. Belknap, in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Series 1, vol. vi. (1800), pp. x–xviii; Life of Jeremy Belknap, with Selections from his Correspondence, etc., collected and arranged by his granddaughter (Mrs. J. B. Marcou), New York, 1847; Francis Parkman's review of the Life of Jeremy Belknap, in the *Christian Examiner*, January, 1848, vol. xliv. pp. 78–86; C. Deane's Report on the Belknap Donation, in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1855–58, vol. iii. pp. 286–328; B. J. Lossing, in his Lives of Celebrated Americans, Hartford, 1869, p. 104; Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1875–76, vol. xiv., extracts from his note-books, pp. 91–98 (other references in index); George B. Spalding's The Dover Pulpit during the Revolutionary War, Dover, N.H., 1876; C. C. Smith's review of the Belknap Papers, Parts I. and II., in the *Unitarian Review*, June, 1877, Boston, vol. vii. pp. 604–623; Charles F. Richardson's American Literature, New York, 1887, vol. i. pp. 450–452; George E. Ellis, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1891, vol. lxvii. pp. 643–657; A. A. Codman, in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, January, 1895, vol. xlix. pp. 68, 69. See also the Belknap Papers, printed by the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the reviews of the same in *Nation* of May 9, 1878, and April 9, 1891.

Dr. Sprague's account of Dr. Belknap, from which this sketch is derived, was based on the memoir by his grand-daughter, on Dr. Kirkland's Funeral Sermon, and on the biography in Massachusetts Historical Collections, vol. vi.

JOHN ELIOT

1754–1813

AND THE MINISTERS OF THE NEW NORTH CHURCH

John Eliot was born in Boston, May 31, 1754. He was the fourth son and seventh child of the Rev. Andrew Eliot, D.D., and Elizabeth (Langdon), his wife. At the age of seven years he was placed at the North Grammar School in Boston, where in due time he was fitted for college. He was admitted a member of Harvard College in 1768, at the early age of fourteen, and graduated with the highest honor in 1772.

Soon after his graduation he took charge of a school in Roxbury, where he remained one year, and for several months of the succeeding winter he was employed in a similar way at Dedham. Some time during the second year after he graduated he returned to Cambridge to study theology, and continued there until the army took possession of the students' rooms in the spring vacation of 1775. In consequence of some efforts that he made to recover the property in his room he was suspected of being a Tory. The fact that a considerable number of his friends were strongly in the royal interest, and that he was unwilling to abjure his social relations with them, was probably the real cause of his offending.

After being dislodged at Cambridge, he seems for nearly a year to have had no fixed residence. Part of the time he passed at Milton, and part at Braintree in the family of the Hon. Richard Cranch, for whom he always kept the most profound regard. He also paid several visists to Dr. Jeremy Belknap, then

of Dover, N.H., afterward of Boston, with whom he contracted an affectionate intimacy, that was broken only by death. The two possessed similar tastes, and were afterward fellow-workers in the then comparatively new field of historical and biographical research. He officiated for a short time as chaplain to the recruits of Colonel Marshal's regiment, then being raised in Boston, for the expedition to Canada. After this he passed several months at Littleton, as the assistant of the Rev. Daniel Rogers, and during the winter of 1778–79 supplied the First Church in Salem. Here his preaching met with great acceptance; but, before there was any decisive action in reference to calling him, the death of his venerable father occurred, by reason of which he was introduced to a field of service as grateful as it was responsible and unexpected.

The church of which his father had been pastor (the New North) immediately invited him to preach, with a view to his becoming his father's successor. That a fair expression of the wishes of the society might be obtained, they voted to hear three others in connection with him; and the result was a very unanimous and cordial concurrence in his favor. Accordingly, he was ordained and installed their pastor on the 3d of November, 1779.

In the fourth year after his settlement he was happily married to a Miss Treadwell, of Portsmouth, N.H., who survived him. They had six children, three sons and three daughters, all of whom continued to live with their father till the time of his death.

In the year 1797 he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Edinburgh. In 1804 he was chosen a member of the Corporation of Harvard College, in place of the Rev. Dr. Howard, then lately deceased, and in this capacity took part

in the momentous election of Henry Ware to the Hollis Professorship. He was also a member of most of the literary and charitable societies in Boston and the vicinity, and in several of them he held important offices. He steadily broadened in his theological opinions, so that after his death it was inevitable that his society should, without any division, call an avowed Unitarian, Francis Parkman,* to be his successor.

Dr. Eliot was intimately associated with Dr. Belknap in establishing the Massachusetts Historical Society, and to the close of life he manifested the

* Francis Parkman, 1788–1852, was born in Boston, June 4, 1788. He was a son of Samuel Parkman, an eminent merchant, and a grandson of the Rev. Ebenezer Parkman, who was for many years minister in Westboro, Mass. Francis Parkman was fitted for college in his native town, chiefly by Mr. William Wells, and graduated at Harvard in 1807. After leaving college, he studied theology for some three years, under the direction of the Rev. W. E. Channing, and during this time contributed to one of the Boston papers a series of articles on moral and religious subjects, which were considered as highly creditable.

In the spring of 1810 he went to Edinburgh, where he passed the winter following. Here he entered his name in the Divinity School, and also attended some of the medical lectures.

In 1811 he travelled in Europe, and after his return to America he preached in various places. On the 8th of December, 1813, he was ordained and installed pastor of the New North Church. The sermon on the occasion was preached by his former theological instructor, the Rev. William E. Channing. In connection with this church Mr. Parkman passed the whole period of his ministry. In 1834 he was honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard College.

In 1839 he delivered and published a discourse on the completion of the twenty-fifth year of his ministry, in which he reviewed the history of the church of which he was pastor.

On the 7th of December, 1842, Mr. Amos Smith[1] was associated with Dr. Parkman as colleague pastor. After Mr. Smith's resignation, which took place in June, 1848, Dr. Parkman requested that, after the settlement of a new pastor, his own relations and duties

warmest devotion to its interests. It was through his instrumentality that many of its richest treasures were obtained, both at home and abroad. He was also a liberal contributor to the different volumes of the society's Collections. For many years he gave his leisure to researches into the history of New England, and particularly of the churches. He was constantly collecting facts about the earlier New England worthies; and his Biographical Dictionary, published in 1809, is a monument of patient and accurate historical scholarship, and constitutes his chief title to fame.

as senior pastor should cease. Mr. JOSHUA YOUNG[2] was ordained and installed in February, 1849, at which time Dr. Parkman's connection with the congregation was virtually dissolved. He preached his farewell sermon on the 28th of January, from Acts xx. 32,—"And now, brethren, I commend you to God," etc. The resolutions adopted by the society, on his leaving them, express "an unfeigned and undiminished affection and respect" for him, as having been through his long ministry "a truly Christian Pastor," and as "entitled to their lasting gratitude."

From the time of his first having a colleague he was always ready, when he did not supply his own pulpit, to aid his brethren. After he resigned his charge, this fraternal assistance was still widely rendered. If any one was sick or in trouble, he was always ready to help, often going to places at a considerable distance. He preached nearly every Sunday, and never, it is said, with more acceptance than in the closing part of his life. And he rarely preached without writing a new sermon or rewriting an old one.

In the autumn of 1852 Dr. Parkman went to Baltimore, Md., to attend a convention of Unitarian ministers,—the last meeting of any public body that he ever attended. He was appointed president of the convention,—an office for which his quick discernment and prompt and graceful utterance, and familiarity with the forms of public business, eminently qualified him. He had but just returned from his journey when his friends and the community at large were astounded by the tidings of his sudden death, on the 12th of November, 1852, aged sixty-six years.

Dr. Parkman was largely connected with associations of a religious, benevolent, and educational kind, such as the Massachusetts

He died on the 14th of February, 1813, at the age of fifty-nine. It was on Sunday, during the time of public worship. It was communion day in his church; and in the interval between the usual service and the communion the tidings of his death were carried to his people. Dr. Lowell, who was officiating on the occasion, addressed the people in a strain of great tenderness and fervor. The funeral was attended on the 18th of February, Dr. Lathrop praying with the family and most intimate friends, and Mr. Channing performing a similar service in the meeting-house, where there was a large assembly. Dr.

Bible Society, the Society for Propagating the Gospel, the Humane Society, and the Congregational Charitable Society, and held offices of high responsibility in a number of them. In 1829 he founded the Professorship of Pulpit Eloquence and the Pastoral Care in the Theological Department of Harvard College, of which his friend the Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., was the first incumbent. When the Society for the Relief of Aged and Indigent Unitarian Clergymen was formed in 1849, he took an active part in its concerns, bestowed upon it his bounty, and accepted the office of its first vice-president, which he held till his death. A considerable part of his library he bequeathed to Harvard College,—an institution which he ardently loved, and long served as an overseer and as a visitor.

He was married in 1817 to Sarah, daughter of Samuel Cabot of Boston, who died the next year, leaving a daughter. In 1822 he was married to Caroline Hall, of Medford, who became the mother of several children, and survived him. He had six children living at the time of his death, and among them was Francis Parkman, the distinguished historian of New France and New England.

The Rev. Frederick Dan Huntington, late Bishop of Central New York, wrote of Dr. Parkman:—

"His pleasant familiarity never transgressed the bounds of perfect courtesy; and even in the less restrained hours of intimate fellowship something was always present in his deportment to betoken his excellent professional breeding. It was his custom, indeed, to insist, with considerable scrupulousness, on those clerical proprieties and formalities that formerly, more than now, distinguished the ministerial vocation; and those whose taste in these respects was less exacting than his own will long remember the good-natured

Lathrop preached a funeral sermon on the succeeding Sunday from 1 Thessalonians v. 9–11.

The following account of Dr. Eliot, written in 1861 by the Hon. Josiah Quincy, is characteristic of both subject and writer:—

"Dr. Eliot was my friend in my earliest manhood. Before I was of age, and while yet a student at law, as early as 1792, my acquaintance was formed with him, and continued until his death. He was one of three others (George Richards Minot, Rev. James Freeman, and Dr. Jeremy Belknap) who honored me, at that early period, with their countenance and

rebukes with which he pursued their departures from the ancient rule. At this date I may justly speak of him as a representative of the older school of gentlemen, and of the distinctive pulpit character of the last generation.

"In his relations to his brethren Dr. Parkman was singularly urbane and conciliatory. With an eye naturally quick to detect faults, as his friends could not but know, trained, too, by extensive observation and travel, with a constitutional relish of ludicrous incongruities, and with an honorable frankness in disapproving what he thought to be wrong, he yet rarely gave offence by harsh judgments or inconsiderate criticisms. An added effect was often given to the native humor of his conversation by certain genial peculiarities in his physiognomy and person. But he thoroughly understood the decorum of all occasions, and a kind of refined dignity was not absent even from his more careless moods. He possessed as consummate a skill in making language reflect the play of his own thought and feeling, in ordinary social intercourse, as is often found in any man. There was no rancor in his sarcasm, and no malice in his playfulness. He knew how to choose fit and delicate terms. He loved Scriptural quotations in all conjunctures, and was sometimes tempted to use them rather by the appositeness than by the solemnity of the circumstances. He kept the attention of the company always awake by piquant terms of expression and quaint phrases. Nor was his wit or eloquence wanting when the tone of the talk was raised. He had an admirable faculty of describing the peculiarities of public men, and the former events with which he had been conversant. Of personal anecdotes he held at command a large fund.

"As a preacher, Dr. Parkman was uniformly serious and practical.

kindness; introduced me, as soon as I was of age, into their society, and were among the causes of my early introduction into the membership of the Historical Society, and to many other societies. My sense of gratitude was then deeply engraven on my heart, and has never been obliterated. Among these my early friends and patrons, Dr. Eliot was not the least kind and efficient. In manners he was gentle and amiable, in conversation ready and instructive. He, as well as the other three, was the most direct and truthful of men. There was an open-hearted familiarity in his mind and manner singularly interesting

In his long ministry at the New North his fidelity and devotion were untiring. There was great method in his habits. He was a genuine respecter of humble virtue. He honored the poor saints. He blessed the widow and the fatherless. He was prompt in all the offices of consolation and charity. Family wealth never weakened his work, nor enticed him to forget the claims of the least conspicuous in his flock,—and that is no light honor to his Christian conscience; but it did make him the constant and munificent guardian of penury and distress. He was exceedingly careful to search out the needy, not only in his own congregation, but in the whole circle of his acquaintance, and especially among those of his own profession and their families, and to bestow upon them kindly attentions. Every aspect of suffering touched him tenderly. His house was the centre of countless mercies to the various forms of want; and there were few solicitors of alms, local or itinerant, and whether for private necessity or public benefactions, that his doors did not welcome and send away satisfied.

"Though subject to occasional attacks of nervous illness, Dr. Parkman accomplished large labors. In the Trinitarian controversy he did his share on the Unitarian side. For nearly half a century he contributed more or less to the principal religious and theological publications of his denomination. The processes of his mind were practical, however, rather than speculative. His style was not wanting in force, but distinguished rather for clearness and ease. Many of his papers were biographical, narrative, or commemorative. He looked at the vexed questions of theology, and at ideas of principles, very much in their relation to persons. Throughout he was a zealous and consistent friend of the Unitarian movement, but

and attractive. They were probably formed by his habitual and affectionate intercourse with his parishioners, toward whom he stood in a very peculiar relation,—he was both pastor and comrade. He was settled in the same church and over the same society of which his father had been pastor for a long life. He had been educated with the members of his parish from his boyhood. They felt for him not only the respect due to his office, but the intimacy resulting from the association of childhood and youth. The old people spoke of him with the familiarity with which they were accustomed to address him when a boy and youth,

was too catholic in his feelings to favor an exclusive policy toward any Christian sect."

Edwin P. Whipple, Esq., wrote of him:—

"He possessed, in a pre-eminent degree, one quality which does not appear in his writings, but was confined to his conversation. This quality was humor, and humor not merely as a power of his mind, but as an element of his character and an instinct of his nature. In him it seemed made up of feeling and insight in equal proportions. In its most intellectual manifestations it evinced that its source was in a kindly, tolerant, and beneficent disposition,—that it loved while it laughed. Whether he conversed on theology or politics, or manners or individual character or recorded some sad or pleasant experience of his own, the wise and genial humorist was always observable, softening, enlivening, enriching everything he touched. His practical discernment was so sure and keen, his knowledge of the world was so extensive, and his perception of character and motives was so quick and deep that it was impossible to impose on him by any pretence or deception. With all his subtilty, however, in detecting the weaknesses of men, there was nothing of the satirist in his disposition; and those who were the objects of his shrewd but kindly humor seemed to enjoy it as much as others. He so softly let a man down from the stilts of his rhetoric, or pierced the bubbles of his declamation with such smiling tact, that the person felt the mists of his self-delusion scattered as by sunlight.

"It was impossible to meet Dr. Parkman in the street, and stop a minute to exchange words with him, without carrying away with you some phrase, or turn of thought, so exquisite in its mingled sagacity and humor that it touched the inmost sense of the ludicrous, and

in language of respect and kindness, which he reciprocated. There was something antique in his language and style, both in conversation and in the pulpit, arising probably from his familiarity with the old ecclesiastical writers. And from the nature of his identity with his congregation he retained much of that freedom, both in illustration and expression, which characterized the clergy of olden times, but which the fashion of his time repressed and soon obliterated. His discourses were, in general, suited to the audience to which they were addressed, full of simplicity and directness. The Society of the North

made the heart smile as well as the lips. Indeed, in this respect he continually reminded me of some of the greatest and most genial humorists in literature,—of Addison and Goldsmith, of Lamb and Irving. In the commonest conversation his mastery of the felicities of humorous expression was quite a marvel. Without the slightest hesitation, sentence after sentence would glide from his tongue, indicating the most consummate command of the resources of language, and every word moistened with the richest humor and edged with the most refined wit. His voice, in its sweet, mild, unctuous smoothness, aided the effect of his expression. His style in conversation, unlike his style in his writings, evinced a creative mind. It was individual, original, teeming with felicities of verbal combination, and flexible to the most delicate variations of his thought. Though it owed no small portion of its charm to his inimitable manner, it still, if literally reported, would have possessed sufficient vitality and richness to indicate, better than any printed memorials of his powers, his real wealth of thought, observation, experience, and knowledge."

The following is the list of Dr. Parkman's publications: A Survey of God's Providence in the Establishment of the Churches of New England, a sermon delivered in Boston on the completion of a century since the settlement of the New North Church, 1814; A Sermon delivered at the Interment of the Rev. John Lathrop, D.D., Pastor of the Second Church in Boston, 1816; The Providence of God displayed in the Revolutions of the World, a sermon preached in the New North Church, Boston, on occasion of the recent revolutions in the government of France, 1830; The Spirit of the Christian Ministry, a sermon delivered at the ordination of

End of Boston was at that day composed of an intelligent, active, laborious class of men, who required for their edification plain truths, plainly spoken. Elaborate arguments were not suited either to their taste or habits of thought; and the sermons of Dr. Eliot were useful, practical, affectionate, without display, seeking only right words in proper places, and appropriate truths and influences. His historical writings were rather his amusements than his studies. They were the incidental rather than the direct object of his life. He was curious in researches among old manuscripts. He availed himself of the assistance

the Rev. John Parkman to the pastoral care of the Third Congregational Church in Greenfield, Mass., 1837; Enquiring of the Fathers, or Seeking Wisdom from the Past, a discourse preached in the New North Church on the completion of the one hundred and twenty-fourth year from the establishment of the church and of the twenty-fifth year since the settlement of the present pastor, 1839; A Discourse delivered in the Church in Brattle Square on Occasion of the Death of the Rev. John T. Kirkland, D.D., LL.D., Late President of Harvard University, 1840; A Sermon preached at the Ordination of the Rev. Amos Smith as Colleague Pastor of the New North Church in Boston, 1842; Extracts from a Discourse on the late Rev. Professor Ware, 1843; A Sermon delivered in the New North Church, Boston, on the Author's resigning his Pastoral Charge, 1849; An Offering of Sympathy to Parents bereaved of their Children, and to Others under Affliction; being a Collection from Manuscripts and Letters not before published, with an Appendix of Selections. This was first published in 1830, and reached a fourth edition in 1854.

1. Amos Smith was born in Boston, November 29, 1816. He graduated at Harvard College in the class of 1838, and from the Divinity School in 1842. He was ordained the same year as the colleague of Dr. Parkman. Six years later he was called to the pastorate of the Unitarian church in Leominster, Mass., where he remained eight years. He then accepted a call to a newly organized Unitarian society at Belmont, in April, 1857, and continued pastor of the parish there until his withdrawal from the active work of the ministry. He died quite suddenly on September 12, 1887.

of friends, as he acknowledges in his Preface to the New England Biographical Dictionary. His historical researches were of a character of all his intellectual efforts for their truth and usefulness, without display, without any catering for fame or hope of it."

Dr. Pierce, of Brookline, wrote of him:—

"Dr. Eliot was distinguished rather for sober than for brilliant intellectual qualities. He was fond of the classics, but was more especially devoted to history and biography. In matters of fact he might be appealed to almost as an oracle. He was a prodigious reader, and had a memory unusually tenacious and

Mr. Smith was genial, quick-witted, and tender-hearted. He never consulted his own ease or comfort. He was not of those who push themselves to the front and hustle for the prominent place. Those who knew him best say that he set too low an estimate on his abilities, and shrank too much from the active and commanding positions which his wisdom and eloquence qualified him to fill. A tablet to his memory in the church at Belmont describes him as "pure in heart, simple in character, a devoted pastor, a loyal friend. Earnest, manly, and tender, he illustrated the beauty of a Christian life."

2. Joshua Young was born in East Pittston, Me., September 29, 1823, and was graduated at Bowdoin College in 1845. From his Alma Mater he received in 1890 the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. He was a graduate of the class of 1848 in the Harvard Divinity School, and in February, 1849, was ordained as pastor of the New North Church. His other pastorates during his long ministry were in Burlington, Vt., 1852–63; Hingham, Mass. (Third Congregational Society), 1864–68; Fall River, Mass., 1868–75; and Groton, Mass., 1875–1904. At the time of his death, February 10, 1904, he was residing in Winchester, Mass., but was still pastor emeritus of the Groton Church.

In December, 1859, Dr. Young made his memorable journey from Burlington, Vt., to North Elba, N.Y., and officiated, by an invitation given him after his arrival, at the funeral of John Brown. Little could he have foreseen at the time the thorny road to which that journey was to lead him, and which for long years he walked with bleeding feet. As little did he then anticipate the immortality of fame which that day's performance of a simple duty was to bring

accurate. His public discourses had not unfrequently the appearance of being written in haste. He would pass rapidly from one topic to another, in a manner which sometimes left the hearer at loss to account for the transition. Occasionally, however, there would be passages of beauty and power, to give interest to what might otherwise have been an ordinary sermon.

"In respect to his views of theology the following statement, contained in Dr. Freeman's sermon after his death, may be relied on as correct:—

"'In general, it may be said that he agreed in opinion with those who are denominated Liberal Christians. Respecting his notions of the distinction which is to be made between the rank of the Father and the Son, though he rejected the creed of the Athanasians, yet he did not go as far as many have proceeded in the present age. He adopted, in his youth, the system of Dr. Thomas Burnet, commonly called the "Indwelling Scheme," and I believe adhered to it to the last.'

him. Dr. Young's anti-slavery convictions were a vital part of his religion, and he had always the courage of his convictions.

As a preacher, he was in the front rank of the pulpit orators who have proclaimed and defended the liberal faith. He spoke to men as one having authority,—an authority derived from the personal power of his strong character, and proceeding also from his far-reaching human sympathies. He had rare native endowments; and these, combined with his wide culture, enabled him to give to his congregations the clear, forcible, well-reasoned, and spiritually-keyed discourses which made him the helper of their faith and their joy.

But Dr. Young was more than the eloquent preacher: he was a "shepherd of the people," the tender-hearted friend, the compassionate and considerate benefactor, the wise counsellor, the devoted and public-spirited citizen. Above all else, men saw in him that type of the true Christian gentlemen which is made up of "high-erected thoughts seated in the heart of courtesy." The closed sense of hearing never led him to put upon those whom he met any part of his own heavy burden, and his thoughtfulness toward others was rewarded by a like consideration on their part toward himself.

"He rarely, if ever, introduced controversy in the pulpit, and on disputed points, especially on the character of the Saviour, generally confined himself nearly or entirely to the use of Scripture language. Indeed, he was so averse to religious controversy, even in private, that I have known him sometimes abruptly leave a circle in which it had been introduced. Nevertheless, he formed his opinions independently, and, when he thought the occasion required it, expressed them without any undue reserve.

"In his domestic and social relations Dr. Eliot shone pre-eminently. In his family he was a model of gentleness and affection. Often have I remarked the delightful familiarity that subsisted between the father and his children. And into whatever family or circle he went, he always received a hearty welcome. Though his brow would now and then bear the appearance of deep solicitude, yet he was commonly cheerful, and sometimes appeared in an exuberance of good spirits. He possessed an integrity, a simplicity, a transparency of character, that secured to him the affection and confidence of all with whom he associated."

Besides his various contributions to the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, Dr. Eliot published: A Sermon delivered before the Free Masons on the Anniversary of St. John, 1782; A Charge to Free Masons, 1783; A Sermon on the Day of Annual Thanksgiving, 1794; A Sermon at the Ordination of Joseph McKean at Milton, 1797; A Sermon on Public Worship, 1800; A Sermon on the Completion of the House of Worship for the New North Religious Society, 1804; A Sermon at the Ordination of Henry Edes, 1809; A Biographical Dictionary, containing a Brief Account of the First Settlers and other Eminent Characters in New England, 8vo, 1809.

The above sketch of Dr. Eliot is condensed from the biography which Dr. Sprague compiled from Dr. Lathrop's and Dr. Freeman's funeral sermons, from the published memoir of Dr. Eliot, and from the sketch in Massachusetts Historical Collections, vol. i., Second Series. The sketch of Dr. Parkman was derived by Dr. Sprague from manuscripts sent him by Dr. Ephraim Peabody and by Francis Parkman, the historian. See also the charming account of Dr. Parkman in Frothingham's Boston Unitarianism, p. 160. The note on Mr. Smith is contributed by the Rev. H. Bygrave, and the note on Dr. Young by the Rev. H. G. Spaulding.

ZEDEKIAH SANGER

1748–1820

Zedekiah Sanger was a son of Richard and Deborah (Rider) Sanger and a grandson of Richard Sanger, of Watertown. He was born at Sherborn, Mass., October 4, 1748, and was fitted for college by his pastor, the Rev. Dr. Samuel Locke, afterward president of Harvard College. He entered at Cambridge in July, 1767, and graduated with high honor in 1771. His theological studies were pursued under the direction of the Rev. Jason Haven, of Dedham.

On the 3d of July, 1776, he was ordained and installed pastor of the church in Duxbury. His first sermon after his ordination was from Leviticus xxv. 10, "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof," having reference to the new Declaration of Independence.

Mr. Sanger began his ministry in troublous times. Though his people were much attached to him, and showed their attachment by numerous acts of kindness, yet, in consequence of the depreciation of the Continental currency, his salary proved entirely unequal to his support. To supply the deficiency, he worked on his farm during the day, and devoted a large part of the night to study; and, in consequence of thus severely taxing his eyes, his sight became so much impaired that he felt constrained, after a few years, to ask a dismission from his charge. His parish immediately voted to increase his salary, and requested him not to use his eyes in writing sermons for one year, presuming that in that time they would recover their usual strength. But at the close of the year his

sight had not improved, and he renewed his request for a dismission. This was granted in April, 1786.

In the year 1788 he received an invitation to become the junior pastor of the church in the south precinct of Bridgewater. When the vote for giving him a call was taken, one hand was raised in the negative. When the man who thus raised his hand was asked what he had to object against Mr. Sanger, his reply was: "Nothing at all. I voted against him to take off the curse; for the Scripture says, 'Woe unto you when all men shall speak well of you!'" Mr. Sanger accepted the call, and was installed as colleague of the Rev. John Shaw on the 17th of December, 1788. Here he spent the remainder of his days. Though educated as a Trinitarian, his theological opinions underwent a progressive change. By middle life he had outgrown all Calvinism. His son, Ralph Sanger,* and several of his pupils became distinguished Unitarian ministers. Dr. Sanger was married in

* Ralph Sanger was born in Duxbury in 1786. He graduated at Harvard as the first scholar, in 1808, was tutor in mathematics for three years, and was ordained and installed minister of the church in Dover, Mass., on September 16, 1812. Dr. Zedekiah Sanger preached the sermon; and other parts were taken by President Kirkland, Dr. Henry Ware, Rev. James Flint, and Rev. Stephen Palmer, indicating that the new minister clearly belonged in the liberal wing of the Congregational churches. The church unanimously followed him in the adoption of Unitarian principles. Dr. Sanger, through a pastorate of forty-eight years, illustrated all the virtues of the useful country minister of the old-fashioned New England type. He began at once on the work of fitting boys for college. He established the common schools of the town, increased a hundred-fold the appropriation for education, and raised the educational standards of the whole neighborhood. He led in the organization of the State Board of Education, and labored for the establishment of State normal schools, one of which was planted at Bridgewater, the home of his youth and his father's parish. As his parish consisted almost entirely of farmers, he devoted much attention to the improvement of

1771 to Irene Freeman, a member of his Duxbury parish; and they had fourteen children.

Mr. Sanger preached the annual sermon before the Convention of Congregational Ministers in Massachusetts in 1805. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Brown University in 1807. He was one of the original members of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was noted both as a classical scholar and as a mathematician, and his parsonage became one of the most famous preparatory schools in New England.

Dr. Sanger is understood to have limited his term of service as a preacher to the age of seventy. When he arrived at that age, he felt that some of his faculties, especially his memory, had begun to fail; and he, accordingly, asked for a colleague, and practically withdrew from public service. He had a good constitution, and enjoyed vigorous health till within a few years of his death. His last illness was a slightly

agriculture, serving as the active officer of the Norfolk Agricultural Society and successfully working for the establishment of the Massachusetts Agricultural College. He started a public library, kept the books in his own house for many years, and selected them for the reading of his people. He introduced Lyceum Lectures, and actively promoted temperance, both by personal example and by cooperation in the work of the temperance societies. Five times his district sent him to the State legislature, where he served on the Committees on Education and Public Charities, and worked for the charter which gave railroad connection to Dover. As a remarkable testimony to the respect of the community he served so well, it should be noted that, though his people were poor, they never failed to pay his salary fully and promptly. In 1857 Harvard gave him the Doctor's degree. Dr. Sanger was married in July, 1817, to Charlotte Kingman, of East Bridgewater; and they had six children. He died at the house of his son-in-law, Mr. William Gannett, in Cambridge, on May 6, 1860. Among his printed sermons should be mentioned his Thirty Years' Ministry, 1842, and the Sermon on the Fortieth Anniversary of his Ordination, 1853.

paralytic affection, which, however, did not deprive him of the use of either his limbs or his reason. He died on the 17th of November, 1820, in the seventy-third year of his age. His funeral sermon was preached by his neighbor and intimate friend, the Rev. Dr. Reed,* of West Bridgewater.

An admirable description of Dr. Sanger was written by the Rev. Levi W. Leonard, of Dublin, N.H., who was brought up in Dr. Sanger's parish, and prepared by him for college:—

"The personal appearance of Dr. Sanger was striking, and not easily to be forgotten. On his head he wore what was called, in those days, a cocked hat, or a hat with the brim turned up on three sides. On

* John Reed (1751–1831) was born in Framingham, on the 11th of November, 1751, the son of the Rev. Solomon Reed; but in consequence of the removal of his father, a short time after, most of his early years were spent in Middleborough. Having gone through his preparatory studies, under the instruction of his father, he entered Yale College in 1768, that institution being preferred to Harvard, chiefly on the ground of its being more favorable to the Calvinistic system of doctrine, of which his father was an earnest supporter.

After his graduation, in 1772, he remained at New Haven, and pursued his theological studies, probably under the direction of President Daggett. During this period his mind underwent a great change in respect to Christian doctrine; and instead of settling down in the Calvinistic creed, to which he had been educated, he became a thorough convert to the Arminian system, and always held to it with great tenacity during the rest of his life. After becoming a candidate for settlement, he was invited to preach in a parish in Bridgewater, which now forms the separate town of West Bridgewater. He accepted their call, and was ordained and installed on the 7th of January, 1780, the sermon on the occasion being preached by his father.

In 1794 Dr. Reed was elected a member of Congress, and he continued a member six years. He was a Federalist of the Washington and John Adams school, and enjoyed the friendship and confidence of those illustrious men. In 1803 he received the degree of

the Sabbath he always appeared with small-clothes, black silk or black worsted stockings, and shoes with silver buckles. Among the boys his appearance, as he approached the church, excited much attention; and we used to watch for him to turn from the road into the common in front of the meeting-house. He advanced with a slow step and dignified air, suffering no one to pass without respectful recognition, and taking off his three-cornered hat as the persons about the door stood back that he might enter.

"The manner of Dr. Sanger in the pulpit was grave without affectation. His utterance was distinct, but the intonations of his voice were peculiar. In his devotional exercises there was occasionally a quick

Doctor of Divinity from Brown University. In 1812 he delivered the Dudleian Lecture at Harvard College.

Dr. Reed spent the last ten years of his life in total darkness, having irrecoverably lost his sight by means of cataracts. The last time that he could avail himself of the aid of a manuscript in preaching was at the funeral of Dr. Sanger. He, however, continued to preach regularly until a short time before his death. The portions of Scripture and the hymns which he had occasion to use he committed to memory by hearing them read.

He was married in November, 1780, to Hannah, daughter of Uriah Sampson, of Middleborough. She was a descendant of the two famous Pilgrims, John Alden and Miles Standish. They had eight children, five sons and three daughters. Mrs. Reed died in November, 1815; and he was married in 1823 to Mrs. Phœbe Paddock, the sister of his first wife.

Dr. Reed published: A Sermon at the Installation of Kilborn Whitman, 1787; A Sermon at the Ordination of Jonas Hartwell, 1792; The Right Hand of Fellowship at the Ordination of James Wilson, in Providence, 1793; The Right Hand of Fellowship at the Ordination of James Flint, in East Bridgewater, 1806; An Apology for the Rite of Infant Baptism, 1806; A Sermon before the Convention of Congregational Ministers in Massachusetts, 1807; A Sermon at the Ordination of Daniel Johnson, Orleans, Mass., 1808; A Sermon before the Plymouth Association of Ministers, preached in Middleborough, 1810; A Sermon before the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Piety, and Charity, 1814.

shaking of the head from side to side, which many persons remember with interest, as it was apt to occur in the most earnest part of his prayers, and seemed to render the words uttered more impressive.

"In his pastoral visits Dr. Sanger was distinguished for his entertaining and instructive conversations. He had a large fund of anecdotes, which he knew how to introduce without obtruding them. He was interesting to the young as well as to older persons. When I was but a boy, it was a source of high gratification to me to be permitted to sit in the room during a visit or a call from him. I never saw in him the least approach to levity of manner. He was careful of the reputation of others. When persons were traduced in his presence, he remained silent.

"Bridgewater Academy was opened for pupils about 1799, and Dr. Sanger was appointed the preceptor. I became a member of his school when nine years of age. He was strict in discipline and thorough in instruction. Offences against the regulations of the school seldom escaped his notice, and occasionally he was severe in his reprimands. His general manner indicated kindness of heart, and an earnest desire for the good conduct and progress of his pupils. His commendations were bestowed with just discrimination, and were regarded, therefore, as worth receiving. I remember, as it were but yesterday, the first time he prescribed for me a lesson in Barr's English Grammar. He called me to his desk, opened the book, marked the paragraphs to be committed to memory, and then went over them with a running commentary, thus explaining their meaning, and exciting an interest in the subject. There was a department for female pupils; and, morning and evening, both sexes assembled in the hall, where the Scriptures were read and prayers offered. It

was customary, after evening prayers, to have an exercise in spelling. The pupils had been in the habit of spelling words without first pronouncing them after the teacher. I had been trained to pronounce words before spelling them, and, when called upon to spell, I repeated the word before naming the letters and syllables. To my surprise and chagrin there was a restrained laugh and a smile of derision on the part of many of the pupils. For a moment, I remember, Dr. Sanger looked offended, but immediately he said, in a decided tone, 'That is a good method: it shows whether the pupil understands the word he is required to spell, and I desire that all of you hereafter pronounce the words before you spell them.' This, of course, relieved me from all embarrassment; and it is one of the first things that I recollect when I hear the name of Dr. Sanger mentioned.

"During Dr. Sanger's ministry there was no stove in his church. Two of the entrances opened directly into the open air outside. The doors to these were not always shut by those who entered, and thus the house was rendered more than usually uncomfortable. When a door was left open, Dr. Sanger was accustomed, at times, to request that it might be closed. At the beginning of one winter, having made the request several times on different Sabbaths, it happened, on a succeeding Sabbath, that the door was left open; and no one moved to shut it. After waiting awhile, he rose, came down the pulpit stairs,—the eyes of the whole congregation being turned toward him,—walked deliberately through the side aisle, and gently closed the door, then, with the same deliberate step, returned to the pulpit, and continued the service as if nothing had happened to disturb his equanimity. I believe the doors were not left open again during the winter.

"I was occasionally sent, when a boy, to procure books from the Social Library. Dr. Sanger was librarian, and attended personally to the delivery of books. His conversation at these meetings was about the books, giving frequently some sketch of their contents, and recommending to one and another the kind of books in which he supposed they would take an interest.

"The doctor's excellent wife was discreet, shrewd, intelligent, and such a manager of a household as falls to the lot of few husbands of any profession. With a numerous family, and a number of pupils besides, her domestic duties must have been of no trifling weight. But everything was done by her with prompt decision, and with a careful yet not unduly rigid economy. Her children were distinguished for their good conduct and civil manners, and were often referred to by the mothers of the parish as patterns to be imitated. Mrs. Sanger was distinguished for her conversational ability. In consequence of having a large circle of friends and acquaintances, much company was entertained; and when Dr. Sanger was wearied with the labors of the day, or unwell, or particularly engaged in his study, his wife was never found unequal to the task of interesting visitors, whether young or old. She seemed to know just what should be said on all occasions; and, when some perverse or conceited parishioner was trying to catch his minister in his talk, she quickly perceived it, and with wonderful tact, and without seeming intrusiveness, took up the subject and the conversation, and caused the person to forget his purpose. She was often somewhat satirical in expressing disapprobation of opinions or conduct, but her satire was free from sarcasm."

The Rev. Charles Lowell, another pupil of Dr. Sanger's, wrote:—

"That he had the reputation of being a good scholar may, I think, be inferred from his having been intrusted with the care of so many lads in their preparatory education for college, and that he had a highly respectable rank among his brethren appears from his having been one of the few teachers in that day of a 'School of the Prophets.'

"I remember him as a man of much simplicity of character, of great sensibility, of an ardent temperament, perhaps somewhat excitable, but habitually gentle and kind. He had nothing austere about him but his eyebrows, which were unusually long. As a preacher, he was more than ordinarily popular. His style of composition was lively, and his elocution animated, though not graceful. His manner was his own. There was no affectation about it. He felt what he uttered, and was mainly anxious that the flock he fed should feel it, too."

The following is a list of Dr. Sanger's publications: A Sermon at the Ordination of Ebenezer Lazell, Attleborough, 1792; A Sermon at the Ordination of James Wilson, Providence, 1793; A Sermon at the Ordination of Hezekiah Hooper, Boylston, 1794; A Sermon at the Ordination of Samuel Watson, Barrington, R.I., 1798; A Sermon at the Ordination of Ralph Sanger, Dover, 1812.

This sketch of Dr. Sanger is condensed from a manuscript furnished to Dr. Sprague by the Rev. Ralph Sanger. The note on Ralph Sanger is chiefly derived from Smith's History of Dover. The note on Dr. Reed is taken from Dr. Sprague's article based on the Funeral Sermon preached by Rev. R. M. Hodges, Dr. Sanger's successor at Bridgewater, and on a manuscript sent him by Dr. Reed's son, Mr. Sampson Reed.

THOMAS BARNARD

1748–1814

AND THE MINISTERS OF THE NORTH CHURCH IN SALEM

Thomas Barnard, Jr., a son of the Rev. Thomas Barnard,* was born in Newbury, February 5, 1748. He graduated at Harvard College in 1766, and studied theology under the direction of the Rev. Samuel Williams, of Bradford. In the year 1771, when his father had become so feeble as to require the assistance of a colleague in the care of the First Church in Salem, the son was invited to preach as a candidate for the place; but, as the congregation were divided in their partialities between him and another candidate, the party favorable to his settlement withdrew, and formed a new church. He was ordained and installed pastor of the North Church and Society in Salem January 13, 1773. Here he continued in the active discharge of the duties of his office forty-one years. On the morning of the first day of October,

* Thomas Barnard, 1716–1776, a son of the Rev. John Barnard, of Andover, was born August 17, 1716. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1732, and was ordained and installed pastor of the First Church in Newbury, January 31, 1739. After a few years the peace of his congregation was disturbed, and his situation at length became so unpleasant that he was, by his own request, dismissed on the 18th of January, 1751.

After leaving his charge, he removed to that part of the town which is now Newburyport, studied law, became a practitioner at the bar, and was a representative of the town to the General Court. Though his talents were such as would have insured him success in civil life, he found that he had little taste for such pursuits. The First Church in Salem having been rendered vacant by the death of the Rev. John Sparhawk, Mr. Barnard was called to be his successor.

1814, he was seized with a fit of apoplexy, and in the course of the following night died, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. His funeral sermon was preached by his neighbor and friend, the Rev. Dr. Prince, of the First Church.

He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from both the University of Edinburgh and Brown University in 1794.

Dr. Barnard was married in May, 1775, to Lois, daughter of Samuel Gardner, a merchant of Salem. He had two children, a son and a daughter, but survived them both.

Dr. Barnard is best remembered as, at the age of twenty-seven, on the afternoon of Sunday, February 26, 1775, in full clerical costume, he stood at the open draw of the North Bridge, mediating between a band of armed militia under Colonel Timothy Pickering, and Colonel Leslie, who with a detachment of British regulars had come to seize the stores and cannon of the Province. With self-possession and persuasive remonstrance he successfully urged counsels of forbearance. The draw was finally lowered, and by

He accepted the invitation, and was installed September 18, 1755. Here Mr. Barnard continued till the close of his life. He suffered much in his latter years from a paralytic affection. His memory failed; and, though he continued to preach till within a few weeks of his death, it was only by the closest attention to his manuscript that he could read his sermon. Mr. Barnard died August 15, 1776, aged sixty years. Dr. Andrew Eliot, of Boston, who had long been his intimate friend, preached his funeral sermon.

The publications of Mr. Barnard were: A Sermon at the Ordination of Edward Barnard, Haverhill, 1743; A Letter to Mr. Joseph Adams; A Sermon at the Ordination of Josiah Bayley, 1757; A Sermon before the Society for Promoting Industry, 1757; Artillery Election Sermon, 1758; A Sermon at the Ordination of William Whitwell, Marblehead, 1762; A Sermon at the General Election, 1763; Dudleian Lecture at Harvard College, 1768; A Sermon at the Funeral of the Rev. Peter Clark, Danvers, 1768.

agreement the British marched one rod beyond it and then returned peaceably to Boston without the booty they had come to take. The incident fitly symbolizes the personal and public influence of Dr. Barnard. By temperament and conviction he was a reconciler, not by studied compromise, but by native courtesy and magnanimity. His own generosity of mind put generous constructions on other men's motives, and by the inbred honor of his character he held the confidence he had gained. It is a testimony to his catholicity that, while counted as rather conservative, he was invited to preach the ordination sermons at the settlement of two redoubtable liberal pioneers,—Aaron Bancroft in Worcester in 1786 and Ichabod Nichols in Portland in 1809.

Dr. Barnard practised a uniform hospitality to various opinions, and was disposed to judge men by the standards of character rather than of creed. He demanded freedom for all. His sermon at the ordination of Mr. Bancroft, of Worcester, was a protest against the attempt to bring free minds, earnest in the pursuit of truth, to an enforced uniformity. Frequently, on other occasions, he rebuked the assumption which makes of one's own opinion a standard for the conviction of others. When he died, Dr. Channing called him a Unitarian. Mr. Worcester denied the statement. The fact remains that at his death the parish, unanimously called John Emery Abbot,[1] who had been educated for the ministry by Dr. Channing. We may conclude that the society, under Dr. Barnard, had quietly moved together toward the liberal position openly assumed in 1815.

The origins of Unitarianism in Salem are peculiarly interesting; and the way in which three of the Congregational churches of the town—the First, the East, and the North Churches—grew liberal, while the

others remained conservative, is instructive. This curious development and divergence has been traced by the Rev. George Batchelor in an admirable essay.

"The great majority of the men of influence in these three parishes were foreign merchants and ship-masters; and these parishes were almost wholly made up of these men, their families, and those who were naturally associated with them in trade, either as assistants or dependants. With them were also naturally found the professional men whose patients and clients they were, and to whom the enterprise and intelligence of the men who pushed the commerce of Salem into every sea was attractive. To any one who scans the names in the old archives, it is evident that, in the social life of Salem and the constitution of these three churches, no element was so powerful as the commercial."

In the Historical Sketch of Salem, published by the Essex Institute, we read, "The three most prominent merchants of that period were Elias Hasket Derby, William Gray, and Joseph Peabody." These merchants were, the first two in the East Church, and the third in the North. Lists are given of the Salem merchants and ship-masters engaged in commerce with India, China, Batavia, Sumatra, Manila, Isle of France, Mocha, and other Oriental ports in Asia and Africa. Slight investigation shows that the great majority of these merchants were in the churches now called Unitarian. When we remember that there were three other Congregational churches in the city, dating respectively from 1735, 1774, and 1803, it is clear that this was not for lack of churches of a different theological complexion which they might have attended.

"When," says Mr. Batchelor, "in 1824, the Barton Square Church was founded, five men met, subscribed

$13,000 to build a church, and determined to call Rev. Henry Colman* to be their minister. They were all foreign merchants. Had they not been, the church they founded would not have been 'Independent Congregational.' In order to test this statement since writing the foregoing sentence, the list has been examined of the laymen who in 1803 formed the Howard Street Church, afterward famous for the belligerent pastorate of Dr. George B. Cheever. The

* HENRY COLMAN was born in Boston, September 12, 1785; graduated at Dartmouth College in 1805; was ordained and installed minister of the Second Congregational Church in Hingham, Mass. in 1807, and remained there until 1820. From 1825 to 1831 he was pastor of a new Barton Square Society in Salem, and afterward removed to Deerfield, Mass. He was appointed Agricultural Commissioner of the State of Massachusetts; and, after passing considerable time in making a tour of inspection in that State and in preparing several reports, he spent six years, from 1842 to 1848, in Europe. The results of his observations, during this time were published, after his return, in his "Agricultural and Rural Economy of France, Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland," "European Agriculture and Rural Economy," and "European Life and Manners, in Letters to Friends." He died in London, soon after his arrival there, August 14, 1849. In addition to the works already mentioned he published the following: A Fast Sermon preached at Quincy, Mass., 1812; A Fast Sermon delivered at Hingham and Quincy, 1812; A Sermon preached before the Massachusetts Humane Society, 1812; A Discourse delivered at Hanover, Mass., before the Plymouth and Norfolk Bible Society, 1816; Catechisms for Children, 1817; A Sermon delivered at Hingham, at the Ordination of Daniel Kimball, 1817; The Massachusetts Artillery Election Sermon, 1818; Sermons, 1 vol., 8vo, 1820; A Discourse on Pastoral Duty, addressed to the Ministers of the Bay Association, 1822; A Discourse on the Character Proper to a Christian Society, delivered at the Opening of the Second Congregational Church in Lynn, 1823; Proper Test of the Christian Church, a sermon preached at Boston, 1824; A Discourse on the Proper Character of Religious Institutions, delivered at the Opening of the Independent Congregational Church in Barton Square, Salem, 1824; Reply to a Review of the Foregoing, 1825; Agricultural Address delivered at Greenfield, Mass., 1833.

result is that no foreign merchants were found in the list of original members, or of those who first joined the church after its formation.

"Puritanism, then, it appears, grew into Unitarianism in Salem only under the influence of foreign commerce. It kept the hardening shell of orthodoxy in the churches where this influence was weak or wanting. Foreign commerce, the great civilizer, was here at work on the choicest materials ever exposed to its influence. Puritan independence, vigor of thought, moral sturdiness, and general intelligence, enlightened and warmed by contact with foreign nations, and especially by contact with the Oriental religions seen at their best, could not fail to supplant a theology which grows best in seclusion and by the repression of vigorous human instincts. With the wealth of the Indies, the men of Salem brought into New England the seeds of that toleration which they had unconsciously harvested among the spices and other rare products of the Eastern world."

The following delineation of Dr. Barnard's character is extracted from Dr. Prince's sermon preached on the occasion of his death:—

As a minister, he was highly respected and esteemed, and useful in the churches, being often called to assist at councils in the ordination of ministers or settling differences among brethren. He was often consulted, and his knowledge and judgment had weight and influence on such occasions. He was catholic in his principles and candid toward those who differed from him. Though zealous, as far as zeal was useful, in inculcating his own sentiments, he did not wish to impose them on any man. He left others to think for themselves, and entertained none of those peculiarities which poison the sweets of charity. He esteemed the honest man, however differing from him in speculative opinions, and embraced him in his charity.

As the Lord had declared that the poor had the gospel preached to them, he believed that all its doctrines necessary to salvation were within the compass of their understanding for faith and practice, and that the final salvation of no man depended upon the belief or disbelief of those speculative opinions about which men equally

learned and pious differ, and some perplex their minds without adding anything to their knowledge. His preaching, therefore, was more practical than metaphysical, though he did not neglect to discuss any religious subject in his discourses which he thought would throw light on the Scriptures, inform the minds of his hearers, and lay open the views and designs of God in the gospel dispensation, and the character and office of Christ, as the messenger of his grace, and the Redeemer of mankind,—such views as would impress the mind with reverence, esteem, and love, confirm faith, and excite obedience. With what honesty, openness, and sincerity, in what a fervent and pious manner, he preached these things, you, my hearers, are his witnesses, who have so long sat under his ministry. I have been informed that his choice of subjects, in the latter part of his life, was more upon the frailties of our nature, its infirmities and mortality, than in former days. As he advanced in life, and felt a nearer approach to the end of it, he might naturally be led to the contemplation of these subjects. In confirmation of this I found upon his table, after his death, a part of a sermon which he had begun to write from these words: "My flesh and my heart faileth, but God is the strength of my heart and my portion forever" (Psalm lxxiii. 26),—a striking coincidence between the subject which engaged his mind, at that time, and his death. Probably the very last day he spent on earth he was employed writing on this subject. When he visited you in affliction, how did he pour the balm of consolation into your minds, sympathize with you, share in your sorrows, and encourage and comfort you by the hopes and promises of the gospel! How did he counsel and advise you when in difficulties, and participate in your joys when prosperity smiled upon you! You can recollect these scenes better than I can describe them. I mention them only as a part of his character and conduct as a Christian minister.

Dr. Barnard was succeeded at the North Church by

(1) John Emery Abbot, 1793–1819 was a son of Benjamin Abbot, LL.D., who for more than half a century was principal of Phillips Academy, Exeter, N.H. His mother, whom he is said to have greatly resembled, and who lived but a few months after his birth, solemnly dedicated him to the care and grace of God; and his knowledge of this fact is said to have had much to do in giving a serious direction to his earliest thoughts and feelings. He graduated at Bowdoin in 1810, at the early age of seventeen, and then pursued his theological studies, partly at Harvard, and partly under the direction of Dr. Channing in Boston.

His first appearance in the pulpit excited great interest. There was a simplicity, a solemnity, an earnestness about him, that rendered his ministrations deeply impressive. When the pulpit in the North Church in Salem was vacated by the death of Dr. Barnard, Mr. Abbot received and accepted a call, and was ordained and installed on the 20th of April, 1815. He was a Unitarian by inheritance and upon principle, and quickly won the confidence and affection of his people. He was a youth of deep religious sensibility and stainless purity, who bore himself with such modest dignity and preached with such matured wisdom and moving earnestness that his brief ministry made a distinct and permanent impression. With a constitution naturally fragile, it soon became apparent that his health was inadequate to the labor which he had undertaken; and in the spring of 1817 his friends began to discover symptoms of pulmonary disease. In October he made a short journey to the South, from which he received injury rather than benefit. On the day after he reached home, he preached to his people in the morning, and administered the ordinance of the Lord's Supper,—the last time, as it proved, that he ever officiated. He spent the winter in Cuba and in South Carolina, and reached Exeter in June, and remained there in the enjoyment of the most affectionate attentions till his death, which occurred October 6, 1819. His funeral sermon was preached at Salem by the Rev. Dr. Channing.

Several years after Mr. Abbot's death a volume of his Sermons was published, together with a Memoir of his life, by Dr. Henry Ware, Jr.

(2) John Brazer (1787–1846) was born in Worcester, Mass., about the year 1787. He was the son of a baker who had removed to Worcester after the burning of his place in Charlestown at the battle of Bunker Hill. The circumstances of his family not permitting to him the advantages of a liberal education, he was compelled to work in a store in Boston until he was twenty-one. Then, with scarcely any resources, he indulged the bent of his inclination, prepared for Harvard in an incredibly short time, led the van of scholarship, and graduated with the first honor in 1813, and was at once appointed tutor in the university. In 1817 Mr. Brazer became the successor of Professor Frisbie in the Latin professorship.

Mr. Brazer's earlier determination was for the law; but, induced principally by the advice of President Kirkland, he resolved to study theology. Every circumstance concurred to admit of a leisurely prosecution of his chosen pursuit. He had just entered on a somewhat kindred situation; and his abilities and reputation seemed to secure him, in advance, the choice of any eligible vacancies that

might occur in the neighboring pulpits. The libraries of the university presented large opportunities for the indulgence of his literary tastes, while society, both in Cambridge and in Boston, lent its attractions to his genial disposition. He threw himself with ardor on this stream of advantages, and grasped ambitiously at a very wide extent of mental cultivation. Classical literature, philology, history, poetry, and philosophy divided, but not distracted, the attention which he paid to theology. If the old records of the University Library are still in existence, the books detained at any given time in his name would be found unprecedented in number and variety, indicating the multifarious nature of his pursuits.

In 1820 he accepted an invitation to the pastorship of the North Church in Salem, Mass., and here Dr. Brazer (for he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard College in 1836) labored with assiduity till the close of his life. His predominant object and aim were to conduct with acceptance and spiritual profit the immediate offices of his church. His highest literary ambition was the reputation of a profound, accomplished, and impressive sermonizer,—an object which he achieved and sustained to the last. "His spirit," said one of his contemporaries, "brooded over a subject with a kind of plastic power, moulded it into shape, gave it, as it were, an organic life, called out its interior essence, and brought its relations and proportions into full yet compact view."

Dr. Brazer's manner in the pulpit was the extreme of simplicity, avoiding, generally, even the aid of a gesture, and depending chiefly for its effect on the weight and pertinence of his matter and the power of his fine and impressive enunciation. Abundant testimony is borne to his careful scholarship, to the deep seriousness of his bearing, the clearness of his style, the closeness of his reasoning.

In the beginning of the year 1846, after having contended long with an inveterate disease, he visited South Carolina, in company with one of his sons, who was then a student in Harvard College. One of his early friends and classmates, Dr. Benjamin Huger, offered him the hospitality of his plantation on Cooper River; and there he died on February 26, 1846.

Dr. Brazer was married in April, 1821, to Anne Warren, a daughter of William and Mary (Chandler) Sever, of Worcester. They had five children, all of whom survived their father. Mrs. Brazer died on the 30th of January, 1843.

The following is a list of Dr. Brazer's publications: A Discourse before the Society for the Promotion of Christian Education in Harvard University, 1825; A Discourse at the Interment of Edward Augustus Holyoke, M.D., LL.D., 1829; Power of Unitarianism

over the Affections (a tract of the American Unitarian Association, First Series, No. 27), 1829; A Discourse at the Ordination of the Rev. Jonathan Cole, at Kingston, 1829; Biographical Memoir of Edward Augustus Holyoke (appended to a collection of his writings), 1830; A Sermon on the Value of the Public Exercises of our Religion (*Liberal Preacher*, New Series, vol. i., No. 2), 1832; The Efficacy of Prayer (in the *Unitarian Advocate*), 1832; A Discourse at the Installation of the Rev. Andrew Bigelow, 1833; A Review of the Argument in Support of Natural Religion (Dudleian Lecture), 1835; Duty and Privilege of an Active Benevolence (address before the Seamen's Widow and Orphan Association), 1835; Essay on the Doctrine of Divine Influence on the Human Soul, 1835; Lesson of the Past (a sermon on the anniversary of his ordination), 1837; Introduction to "A Good Life," by Thomas Wright, 1837; The Present Darkness of God's Providence (a sermon), 1841; A Discourse on the Death of the Hon. Benjamin Pickman, 1843; Notice of a "Collection of Hymns for the Christian Church and Home," by the Rev. James Flint (in the *Monthly Miscellany*), 1843; A Discourse on the Life and Character of the Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, with Biographical Notices, 1845; A Volume of Sermons, with a Memoir, published after his death, 1849. Besides, Dr. Brazer was a frequent contributor to the *North American Review* and the *Christian Examiner*.

(3) Octavius B. Frothingham, see Vol. III. p. 120.

(4) Charles Lowe, see Vol. III. p. 228.

(5) Edmund B. Willson, see Vol. III. p. 384.

The following is a list of Dr. Barnard's publications: A Sermon at the Ordination of Aaron Bancroft, Worcester, 1786; A Sermon at the Artillery Election, 1789; A Sermon before the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers, 1793; A Discourse before the Humane Society of Massachusetts, 1794; A Sermon on the National Thanksgiving, 1795; Dudleian Lecture at Harvard College, 1795; A Fast Sermon, 1796; A Thanksgiving Sermon, 1796; A Sermon on the Death of Washington, 1799; A Sermon before the Salem Female Charitable Society, 1803; A Sermon before the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians, 1806; Sermon at the Ordination of Rev. Ichabod Nichols in Portland, 1809; A Sermon before the Bible Society of Salem and Vicinity, 1814.

The account of Dr. Barnard is condensed from the sketch which Dr. Sprague derived chiefly from Dr. Prince's funeral sermon. The note on Thomas Barnard, Sr., is derived from the obituary in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, volume vi. The note on Mr. Abbot is abridged from the Memoir by Henry Ware, Jr., and the note on Dr. Brazer from a communication sent to Dr. Sprague by the Rev. Samuel Gilman, of Charleston, S.C.

JOHN PRINCE

1751–1836

John Prince, a son of John Prince, was born in Boston, July 22, 1751. His father was a mechanic, and designed that the son should be one also; and, accordingly, he was bound out as an apprentice to a pewterer and tinman, and continued in this employment until his indentures had expired.

But his heart, during all this time, had been in his books rather than in his trade. He seemed to have no interest in the usual sports of boyhood; and his hours of leisure, during his apprenticeship, were devoted to study. As soon as he was at liberty, he decided to enter college, and in a very short time was ready to be admitted. He entered Harvard College in 1772, and about the same time was admitted to the communion of the New North Church, then under the pastoral care of the Rev. Dr. Andrew Eliot. After leaving college, in 1776, he was engaged for some time in teaching a school. He pursued his theological studies under the direction of the Rev. Samuel Williams, of Bradford, Mass., afterward professor of mathematics and natural philosophy in Harvard University. Receiving an invitation to preach to the First Church in Salem, in due time a call from that church was given him, and he was regularly constituted its pastor on the 10th of November, 1779, the sermon on the occasion being preached by his theological instructor, the Rev. Samuel Williams.

Dr. Barnard and Dr. Prince were men of one mind and one heart. The same influences shaped them,

and some curious coincidences show how nearly parallel their courses ran. Both graduated at Harvard College. Both taught school in the same town. Both studied divinity with the Rev. Samuel Williams, of Bradford, who preached both their ordination sermons. Both received doctor's degrees from the same college. Both were ordained and died in Salem. The same text was, without design, selected for their funeral sermons; and, by a singular error, the remains of Dr. Prince were carried into the wrong tomb and laid beside those of Dr. Barnard. Their intercourse in Salem lasted thirty-five years, during which they were quietly working together to secure the practical blessings of religion to their people, without becoming entangled in ecclesiastical controversy. They were men of peace, who believed that the dogmatic differences over which many of their time were agitated were not worth the time spent upon them.

These two men were sometimes charged with deceit, because they declined to declare themselves. Their neighbor, Dr. Bentley, pursued a different course, which better suited his more aggressive nature. Mr. Willson quotes a remark which indicates the position of the more conservative liberals. When a parishioner said, "Dr. Barnard, I never heard you preach a sermon upon the Trinity," he replied, "And you never will." What they believed, they preached. What they did not believe, they let alone. They maintained the right of every other minister to do the same, and of each church to maintain the preaching which best ministered to its spiritual wants, without question or interference from other churches.

Dr. Prince's scientific tastes were early developed, and continued to be his most marked characteristic throughout his life. He noticed every occurrence, and studied every object within the reach of his curious

observation. His appetite for knowledge was insatiable, and he accumulated and held at ready command vast stores of information. He was thoroughly familiar with the knowledge of his day in astronomy, mineralogy, chemistry, botany, and entomology, and delighted in experiments and explorations in all these fields. At the same time he was ever a religious man of science. If he penetrated into the mysteries of nature, it was to discern traces of the wisdom and power of the Creator. Wherever he walked with science, there he walked with God.

The discoveries which made him famous were chiefly in the line of the improvement of scientific instruments. The invention of the air pump in November, 1783, gave him enduring place among the learned men of his day. His letter to President Willard of Harvard College, giving an account of it, is preserved in the first volume of the Memoirs of the American Academy. Later he devised marked improvements in the microscope, and constructed a stand for a telescope combining perfect firmness with ability to easily move the instrument in any direction. Of this ingenious invention, he said, "I made the brass work myself, and finished it on my birthday, eighty years old." Dr. Prince's scientific and literary letters, a vast correspondence containing long discussions of scientific questions and often elaborate pen drawings, have been preserved, and are the best records that were made of the scientific attainments and limitations of his time.

In spite of the attention which he gave to these pursuits, Dr. Prince was also a very learned theologian. For a half-century he was in constant correspondence with the principal London booksellers, and he accumulated a large collection of rare and valuable theological works. He read them all, and

his memory of what he read was capacious and retentive. In 1795 he received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Brown University.

Dr. Prince continued the sole pastor of the church until December 8, 1824, when the Rev. Charles W. Upham * was installed as his colleague. He, however, subsequently shared the services of the Sabbath, until the infirmities of age obliged him partially, and at length entirely, to withdraw. He preached his last sermon on the 17th of April, 1836, less than seven weeks before his death. On the 4th of June, he bequeathed nearly four hundred and fifty volumes, of great value, as a theological library for the perpetual use of the ministers of the First Church. He dictated to his colleague the following words, which were written by his direction, on the catalogue of the books over his signature: "Sensible of the kindness of my people through my long ministry and life, I bequeath these books as a lasting memorial of my affectionate gratitude." He died on the 7th of June, 1836, aged nearly eighty-five years. His funeral sermon was preached by his colleague, Mr. Upham.

* Charles Wentworth Upham (1802–1875) was born on May 4, 1802, in what is now the parish of Upham, on the St. John River in New Brunswick. His father, Joshua Upham, was a native of Brookfield, Mass., and a graduate of Harvard College in 1763. He had won distinction as a public leader in his native town and county; but at the crisis of the Revolution he adhered to the Loyalist party, and went into exile in New Brunswick. In 1784 he became a justice of the Supreme Court of the Province. In 1813 Mr. Phineas Upham, a merchant of Boston and a nephew of Judge Upham, visited St. John, and offered to take his young kinsman Charles into his store, and to give him an education. In the next year, therefore, Charles Upham went to Boston, and entered the counting-house of his kindly relative. Soon, however, his evident talents and tastes indicated that he ought to enjoy a higher education; and he was fitted for Harvard College, where he graduated in 1821, as the second scholar in his class, and immediately entered the Divinity

Dr. Prince was married in March, 1780, to Mary Bailey, of Boston, by whom he had four children, all of them sons. She died December 4, 1806, aged fifty-two. On the 27th of November, 1816, he was married to Mrs. Mille Waldo, widow of Dr. Jonathan Waldo, of Salem.

The following account of Dr. Prince was written by the Hon. Joseph E. Sprague:—

"In person Dr. Prince was large and well formed, and had a face expressive of a thoughtful and earnest mind and a kindly and generous spirit. His manners were simple and agreeable, but yet dignified and commanding. His mind was uncommonly inquisitive, and no field of knowledge could be open to him which he was not intent upon exploring. His memory seemed like an inexhaustible treasury. Everything that he had read and heard was deposited there, and his knowledge was so systematized as always to be at command. He had fine powers of conversation; and, as his life had been an eventful one, he could make himself most agreeable and entertaining to any company, gathering his materials altogether from

School. On December 8, 1834, he was ordained as colleague pastor with Dr. Prince. On March 29 he was married to Ann Susan Holmes, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Holmes, of Cambridge, and sister of Oliver Wendell Holmes. Salem was thereafter his home; and among all its eminent citizens there has not been one who was more thoroughly informed in the history of the place, who had made a closer study of its traditions, or who more fondly loved the memories of the men and women of former generations who were identified with it. He had a genius for historical investigation and for biographical description. For twenty years he served the First Church, and resigned December 8, 1844, because an obstinate throat trouble had diminished his power of public speaking. For the next year he was editor of the *Christian Register*, and then for a time was an agent of the Board of Education in Massachusetts. In 1849, 1859, and 1860 Mr. Upham represented Salem in the Massachusetts legislature. In 1850, 1857, and 1858 he was a member of the State

within the circle of his own experience and observation. He was full of the milk of human kindness, and his house was a perfect museum of curiosities.

"With high intellectual qualities he combined great manliness of spirit, prudence, and, generosity. He seemed always inclined to look on the bright side of men's characters; and, even when he knew there were great defects, he was disposed to pass them over in silence. I do not suppose that a case ever occurred, during his whole ministry, in which he was even suspected of having done anything needlessly to injure the reputation or wound the feelings of a single individual in the community. He had a quick sense both of justice and of honor that was apparent in all his conduct.

"As a preacher, Dr. Prince could not, certainly within my day, have been considered popular. Though his appearance in the pulpit was venerable, and his tones of voice melodious and impressive, he lacked animation, and often failed to interest, from the fact that he seemed so little interested himself. In his theological views I have always understood that he was

Senate, in the last two years being chosen president of the Senate by unanimous vote. In 1852 he was elected mayor of Salem, in 1853 a member of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, and in the same year a representative in Congress. His public service was of the highest quality, and his published speeches and addresses indicate why his influence was strong and pervasive. Strength of character, elevation of aim, courtesy in all relations, a well-trained mind, and a practised power of speech gave him the respect and consideration of his colleagues.

For the last fifteen years of his life Mr. Upham gave himself almost entirely to literary and historical work. His means were ample for his simple needs, and his books and his writings gave him occupation and solace. He prepared lives of Roger Williams, Hugh Peters, Sir George Downing, and Colonel Timothy Pickering. The publications of the Essex Institute and the Massachusetts Historical Society were enriched by many of his contributions. His substan-

an Arminian and an Arian, but I do not think that he ever preached distinctively upon any of the points of controversy which in his day agitated the New England churches.

"It is hardly necessary to say that, in the department of Natural Philosophy, especially in the framing of instruments, Dr. Prince has had few, if any, superiors. In this respect he had a European as well as an American reputation. He corresponded extensively with several distinguished philosophers in Great Britain; and his labors were referred to, in terms of the highest respect, in several of their most valuable publications. In an edition of 'The Celestial Globe,' published in London, by one of Dr. Prince's correspondents (Mr. Adams), the constellation of the air pump was marked 'Prismatica Princianna,' which led some one to say that Dr. Prince's name was written in heaven.

"He had more interesting anecdotes of the incipient stages of the Revolution than any man I ever knew. At the time of the Boston Massacre he was in State Street, and saw the whole; and, if I mistake not, he was a witness at the trial of Captain Preston and his soldiers. He was at Governor Hutchinson's house

tial volumes on the Salem Witchcraft and on the history of Salem were scholarly and accurate, and he wrote many memorial sketches and addresses of the friends and contemporaries with whom he had worked. He maintained a very extensive correspondence all over the world, and was closely associated with many distinguished men. His death occurred on June 15, 1875. As minister, citizen, statesman, and man of letters, he took high rank.

Mr. Upham was succeeded at the First Church by

(1) Thomas T. Stone, see Vol. III. p. 358.
(2) George W. Briggs, see Vol. III. p. 37.
(3) James T. Hewes, see Vol. III. p. 38.
(4) Fielder Israel, see Vol. III. p. 38.

at North End when it was visited by the mob. He was at the town meeting preliminary to the destruction of the tea-ships. He was afterward at the conference at Dr. Church's, where the measure was concerted for destroying the tea, and was on board the ships when it was actually destroyed. He was the first to carry the news to General Warren that the British troops had left Boston for Lexington. Before he returned, he was standing at the head of Milk Row in Charlestown, with two or three other persons at his side, armed with muskets. He saw a person riding rapidly on horseback, and, as he passed them, his cloak blew open, and disclosed a British uniform. One or more of them levelled their pieces at the horseman, and were nearly in the act of firing, when Dr. Prince struck the guns up with his cane, saying, as he did it, 'Don't kill him,' or 'Don't hurt him,' or 'Don't fire.' This horseman was Colonel Small, of the British army, hurrying into Boston to inform the commander of the straits into which the troops at Lexington and Concord had fallen. But for this Lord Percy would not have gone out with his re-enforcements; and the British troops would all have been intercepted and captured."

The following is a list of Dr. Prince's publications: A Discourse delivered at Salem on the day of the National Fast, appointed by President Adams, on Account of the Difficulties existing between the United States and France, 1798; A Discourse upon the Close of the Year, recommending the Improvement of Time, 1799; A Discourse delivered before the Salem Female Charitable Society, 1806; A Discourse occasioned by the Death of the Rev. Thomas Barnard, D.D., 1814; A Charge to John Emery Abbot at his Ordination in Salem, 1815; A Discourse delivered in Salem before the Bible Society of Salem and its Vicinity, 1816; A Charge to Richard Manning Hodges at his Ordination in Bridgewater, 1824; Description of a New Stand for a Reflecting Telescope.

Dr. Sprague derived his information about Dr. Prince chiefly from Mr. Upham's funeral sermon, from a manuscript sent him by Hon. D. A. White, and from the obituary in the Salem *Register*. The note on Mr. Upham has been taken from the Memoir by Rev. George E. Ellis.

WILLIAM BENTLEY

1759–1819

William Bentley was a son of Joshua Bentley, a ship carpenter, and was born in Boston, June 22, 1759. His great-grandfather came from England in the expedition against Quebec, in which he perished, leaving his orphan child, the grandfather of William Bentley, in Boston. He took his Christian name from his maternal grandfather, William Paine, who, being a man of property, and much attached to this grandson, was at the principal expense of his education. He graduated at Harvard College in 1777, and was immediately employed as an assistant in the Boston Latin School, in which he had been fitted for college. In 1779 he was preceptor of the North Grammar School in Boston. In 1780 he was appointed Latin and Greek tutor in Harvard College, and held the office until 1783, devoting a portion of his time to the study of theology. At this time he formed an intimate friendship with Albert Gallatin, who was instructor in French in the university.

In September, 1783, Mr. Bentley was ordained as colleague pastor, with the Rev. James Diman, over the East, or Second, Church in Salem. The ordination sermon was preached by Dr. Lathrop, of Boston, and Dr. Barnard and Dr. Prince, of Salem, had part in the services. Mr. Bentley's first sermon was characteristically direct, practical, and unconventional. It was from the text (Acts x. 29), "I ask, therefore, for what intent ye have sent for me." On the death of his colleague, in 1788, he became sole pastor, and continued so as long as he lived. In the early

part of his life he is said to have been a decided Calvinist, and while he was in college was associated with a number of friends in holding private religious meetings, which drew upon him the imputation from many of his fellow-students of being righteous overmuch. Soon after his settlement, however, he renounced Calvinism; and both he and his college classmate, James Freeman, of Boston, became avowed Unitarians.

In the voluminous diary and notes, filling fifty manuscript volumes, left by Dr. Bentley to the Antiquarian Society of Worcester, are to be found many definite statements, which indicate beyond a doubt that his attitude was from the beginning of his ministry one of sympathy with progressive liberalism. One volume of this diary, which entitles Dr. Bentley to be called "the New England Pepys," has been published by the Essex Institute, and presents an encyclopædia of the learning and events of his day. Whatever Dr. Bentley saw or heard, he wrote down, whether it related to astrology, astronomy, mathematics, languages, to the literature of the East, to politics, art, natural science, or the trivial events of every-day life. His theological development was synchronous with his increasing knowledge in many departments of research.

In 1786 he was reading with approval Dr. Priestley's arguments against the Trinity; and in 1788 he wrote to Captain B. Hodges, who was going to sea, some directions as to the selection of a library. Among other things he said: "In religion Priestley's smaller tracts are all you may want to know of the simple doctrines of Christianity. Your own good heart will supply the rules for practice. Priestley, on inquiry, will recommend the liberty of thinking for yourself."

In 1791 he began a series of extemporaneous com-

ments on the Scripture read before the sermon. In a book kept for that purpose he made notes of these addresses. They begin significantly January 9, 1791, with an examination of the first chapter of the Fourth Gospel. He considered successively the Athanasian, the Arian, and the Unitarian hypotheses. "Admitted the Unitarian attitude." It must be remembered that "Unitarian" at this time was used always in the English sense, and meant "Humanitarian." January 16 he took up Acts xx. 28, "The church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood." He makes a summary of arguments to show that Jesus cannot be God, and closes with "the presumption that this is not a true reading." In regard to true and false religions he says, in his remarks upon Paul's address at Mars Hill: "Religion is true or false in regard to its end. The question is not so much of a true or false religion as of a false end in religion." In 1792 he says, "I took the liberty in the most exceptional manner to deliver my sentiments against total depravity as preached at a late lecture."

When we remember that these are notes of addresses made in public from Sunday to Sunday, it is clear that he had broken with the Calvinistic traditions long before the days of Channing. When the lines were drawn, he was found holding the position he had maintained for more than a quarter of a century. Probably on this account he took little interest in the Unitarian controversy, for the questions in debate were such as he and his people had long before settled for themselves.

Dr. Bentley was a pioneer in other departments than theology. He was not afraid of novelties. "Superstition," he said, "has its cause in ignorance of natural laws; bigotry, in ignorance of mankind." He was much interested in church music,—an utterly

neglected art in his day,—started a singing school, trained his congregation, introduced instrumental music into the service, and in 1788 published a hymn-book which replaced the old Calvinistic hymns with verses more in the spirit of the liberal thought. As early as 1795 he startled the Puritan conservatism of the town by holding services on Christmas Day. As an instance alike of his disregard of ecclesiastical conventions and of his love of music, he records that there were four anthems at the morning and three at the evening service. In 1790 he exchanged with James Freeman, of King's Chapel, the first minister of the neighborhood who ventured to recognize the avowed Unitarian. The sermon was published at the request of the people of the chapel, and is a landmark of the advancing liberalism of the time. When the Catholics first organized in Salem, it was Dr. Bentley who bade them welcome, and who entertained the priest in his own house. He was a pioneer in the religious education of the young. Teaching came naturally to him; and, in the days before Sunday-schools existed, he was the faithful pastor who really did for the children of his flock what the Sunday-school, with all its admirable machinery, sometimes fails to do.

Dr. Bentley was an exceeding learned man, proficient in twenty languages, and, through the ship-masters in his congregation, carrying on a correspondence with scholars in all parts of the world. There were in his church twenty-one captains of vessels in the foreign trade. Some of them had been several times round the world, but had never been as far as Boston in their native State. Dr. Bentley was greatly interested in what the captains had to tell him of the thoughts and customs of the Far East, and his religious sympathies were large enough to recognize Arab,

Hindoo, and Chinaman as children of a common Father.

Mr. Bentley was once elected Chaplain of Congress, but he declined the honor. In 1805 he was virtually, if not actually, appointed to the presidency of the University of Virginia; but he declined the appointment, observing that his people were his wife (they were the only wife he ever had), that he could not take them with him, and would not consent to a divorce. He was one of the earliest members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and collected the materials for the History of Salem, but was prevented from completing it on account of some dissatisfaction with the publishing committee. In 1819 he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard College.

Dr. Bentley's seafaring parishioners, trading in all parts of the globe, brought home to him various curiosities from different countries, which formed a very interesting cabinet. This he gave to the East India Marine Society's Museum in Salem,—a society in which he took an early and deep interest. His library, which was one of the largest private libraries in the country, he bequeathed to Allegheny College in Meadville, Pa., and to the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester.

Dr. Bentley suffered for many years from an organic disease of the heart. Having been out one night very late, on a visit to a parishioner, who had just returned from a voyage, he hurried home; and, as the weather was intensely cold, he stood warming himself with his back to the fire. The sudden transition from cold to heat caused the blood to flow to his head; and he fell dead on the 29th of December, 1819, aged sixty-one years. His funeral took place January 3, 1820. President Kirkland and Dr. Prince prayed, and Edward Everett, then professor in Harvard Col-

lege, delivered a funeral oration. He had been a zealous Free Mason, and was buried with Masonic honors.

The following description was written by the Hon. Joseph E. Sprague, of Salem, in 1851:—

"In stature Dr. Bentley was below the middle size,—thickly set, weighing, at the age of fifty-two, two hundred and fourteen pounds. He took a great deal of exercise, walking several miles daily, without regard to the weather. There was a pile of stones on the Salem Neck which was one of the limits of his walks, and was hence called 'The Bentley Monument.' He retired early, and uniformly rose an hour or two before the sun. He never guarded his feet against the wet, but perforated the sides of his shoes, as the most effectual security against taking cold. He had no chair in his study, but always wrote in a standing posture. His food, when he was at home, was uniform and very simple.

"That Dr. Bentley was a man of extensive and varied learning and of immense industry, no one who knew him ever doubted. He is said to have written thirty-three hundred sermons, and fifty-six volumes of other manuscripts, many of them of large size. In his diary he noted everything that came to his knowledge, including his observations on philosophy, theology, astronomy, meteorology, and other branches of science, which were then quite in their infancy. He was reputed to have understood twenty-one languages. He corresponded in Arabic, through the shipmasters in his parish, with some of the petty chiefs in Arabia and Eastern Africa. The government, in one or two instances, put in requisition his knowledge of the Oriental languages, for translating the credentials of an Eastern ambassador.

"As a preacher, Dr. Bentley may be said to have

been unique. He delighted in preaching upon odd texts and upon special occasions; and no event could occur of the least moment, private or public, but that he was sure to make it the subject of a discourse, and he would generally find a text that seemed exactly suited to it. When the news came that the embargo was raised, previous to our last war with Great Britain, he arose and looked round upon his audience, and announced his text thus,—'*There* go the ships.' It is but fair to say that his preaching was generally considered as less serious and Scriptural than could have been desired. In his religious opinions he was generally regarded as a humanitarian. After his successor, Dr. Flint,[1] was settled in his place, he preached a sermon on the importance of family prayer; and I remember to have been amused at hearing a person who had been trained under Dr. Bentley's more liberal ministrations denounce it as *Calvinism*.

"In his politics Dr. Bentley was an ardent Republican, of the Jefferson and Madison school. During the war he, with the Universalist clergyman and three lawyers, joined a voluntary company, all the other members of which were sailors. In the summer of 1814 the 'Constitution' was chased into Marblehead by a British squadron on Sunday afternoon. It was just at the commencement of the afternoon service. Observing a movement amongst his people and learning what was taking place, he announced the fact from the pulpit, and said that the best service for the afternoon was to defend the 'Constitution,' and immediately dismissed his people, joined his company, and marched to Marblehead.

"Dr. Bentley was exceedingly talkative, full of amusing anecdote, and impatient of opposition in anything. He was chairman of the school committee; and there was no getting on with business without interrupting

him, sometimes almost rudely, as his anecdotes about the Boston schools would have otherwise engrossed the whole time. On the Fourth of July, 1810, both political parties having engaged the same band of music, the committee, to meet this contingency, wished to hasten some of their exercises, and requested Dr. Bentley to offer a short prayer. He was so offended at what he deemed an impertinent interference that he prayed nearly an hour, the consequence of which was that the band was obliged to leave the house before the oration was finished.

"Dr. Bentley, though eccentric and, as a minister, not without faults, had some fine social and moral qualities which it is pleasant to contemplate. He was distinguished for his benevolence. He had an eye to the temporal wants of his people, a heart that was quick to feel, and a hand that was ready to move for the bestowment of generous benefactions. He had great influence with his congregation; and, as it cost him no effort to express his wishes, it seemed to cost them no sacrifice to comply with them. His zeal in politics, connected perhaps with some other circumstances, had pretty nearly put an end to exchange between him and the other ministers of the town some time before his death. Still, I believe his brethren were always ready to acknowledge his good qualities; and the whole community regarded him as an extraordinary man."

Dr. Bentley was succeeded in the pastorate of the Second Church by

(1) James Flint, a son of James and Mary Flint, who was born in Reading, Mass., on the 10th of December, 1779. His parents were plain but worthy people, who educated their children to habits of industry and virtue. He was fitted for college under the instruction of the Rev. Eliab Stone, pastor of the Congregational church in his native place. At the age of eighteen he entered Harvard College, and was graduated with honor in the class of 1802.

His genial disposition, ready wit, and fine powers of conversation rendered him a favorite in college, and secured to him many valuable and enduring friendships.

On leaving college, he was engaged for a year or two as principal of an academy at Andover, his studies, meanwhile, taking the direction of his subsequent calling. After this he became a student of theology, under the Rev. Joshua Bates, of Dedham. He was very soon called to the pastoral care of the Congregational Society in East Bridgewater, and was ordained on the 29th of October, 1806, the sermon being preached by his brother, the Rev. Jacob Flint, of Cohasset. Though he had been educated in the orthodox faith, he had, in the progress of his studies, become a decided Unitarian; and, though his new views were acceptable to much the larger part of his parish, there was a minority which ultimately withdrew and formed a new orthodox society.

Mr. Flint remained in happy relations with his people at East Bridgewater until the spring of the year 1821, when on account of the inadequacy of his salary to meet the wants of a large family he felt constrained to resign. Shortly after this he accepted the invitation of the Second Church in Salem, Mass., and was installed on the 19th of September, 1821. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard College in 1825. He died on the 4th of March, 1855, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. His funeral sermon was preached by his colleague and successor, Rev. Dexter Clapp.

Dr. Flint was married to Lydia, daughter of George and Sarah Dublois, of Halifax, N.S., who with several children survived him.

The following is a list of Dr. Flint's publications: The Christian Ministry, the Qualifications Requisite for it, its Duties, Difficulties, Discouragements, etc., two sermons delivered before the Church in the East Parish of Bridgewater the second Sabbath after the author's ordination, 1806; A Sermon preached at the Ordination of the Rev. Nathaniel Whitman, Billerica, 1814; God a Refuge and an Habitation in Times of Calamity and Danger, a discourse delivered at the request of the officers and soldiers of the Bridgewater Light Infantry, 1814; The Anniversary Election Sermon, 1815; A Discourse delivered at Plymouth, 1816; A Discourse delivered at the Ordination of Seth Alden, Marlborough, 1819; A Sermon delivered in Beverly on the Occasion of the Death of the Rev. Abiel Abbot, D.D., 1828; A Sermon on the Authority and Duties of the Sabbath, 1828; A Sermon on Indolence, 1829; Change, a poem delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard University, 1839; A Collection of Hymns for the Christian Church and Home, 1843; The Vanity and Unsatisfactory Nature of Earthly

Possessions, Salem, 1844; Two Discourses on Taking Leave of the Old Church of the East Society in Salem, 1845; The Deceased Pastor still speaking to his Flock, a discourse delivered in the North Church in Salem the first Sabbath on which the church was opened after the decease of the Rev. John Brazer, 1846; A Sermon delivered in Marblehead the Sabbath after the Death of the Rev. John Bartlett, 1849; Times of Birth and Death the Appointment and Ordering of God, a sermon preached in the East Church in Salem on occasion of the death of President Taylor and of the death of the Hon. Nathaniel Silsbee, 1850; Sermons (a volume, 12mo), 1852; Verses on Many Occasions, with others for which it may be thought there was no occasion, collected and printed for his grandchildren, one volume, 8vo. Dr. Flint was a hymn-writer of distinction. Some of the best of his poetic productions may be found, together with a brief memoir, in Putnam's Singers and Songs of the Liberal Faith.

(2) Dexter Clapp who was born at West Hampton, Mass., July 15, 1816, graduated at Amherst College, 1839, and from the Harvard Divinity School in 1842. He served as minister at Savannah, Ga., 1843 to 1846, at West Roxbury, where he succeeded Theodore Parker, 1846 to 1851, and at Salem, 1851 to 1864. His wife was a sister of Dr. Convers Francis and Mrs. Lydia Maria Child. He died at Salem, July 27, 1868.

Mr. Clapp was a born minister. He did not choose his profession: the profession chose him. He could not have been anything but a minister. His was the life of a diligent, constant, and devoted pastor, an affectionate husband, a faithful friend, rich rather in human love than in those incidents which outwardly signal a successful career. His power as a preacher lay not so much in what he thought and said as in what he was. He loved the great themes of the gospel, and gave to his hearers not what others had thought or felt, but his own daily and hourly experience. He was by nature a man of refinement and gentleness. He was singularly blessed in the capacity of loving and expressing love. A childless man, his heart went out toward the young. He was everywhere welcomed; and, in spite of his contemplative spirit, he had none of the conventionalities and mannerisms of the ecclesiastic.

The following is a list of Dr. Bentley's publications: A Sermon preached at the Stone Chapel, Boston, 1790; A Sermon delivered at Salem on the Death of Jonathan Gardiner, 1791; A Collection of Psalms and Hymns, 1795; A Masonic Discourse delivered at Roxbury, 1796; The Artillery Election Sermon, 1796; A Sermon delivered at Salem on the Death of General John Fiske, 1797; A Masonic Discourse delivered at Amherst, N.H., 1797; A Masonic Charge delivered at Worcester, 1798; An Address before the Essex Lodge, delivered at Salem, 1798; Description and History of Salem, published in the sixth volume of the Massachusetts Historical Col-

lections, 1800; A Sermon delivered at the Funeral of B. Hodges, 1804; A Sermon delivered at the Ordination of Joseph Richardson at Hingham, 1806; A Sermon delivered before the Salem Female Charitable Society, 1807; A Sermon delivered before the Legislature of Massachusetts on the Occasion of the General Election, 1807.

The account of Dr. Bentley is condensed from the article by Dr. Sprague derived from manuscripts sent him by Mr. J. E. Sprague and Mr. William Ropes, and from the obituary in the Salem *Gazette*. The note on Dr. Flint is taken from an article in the *Christian Examiner*, 1855. The note on Mr. Clapp is derived from an article in the *Monthly Religious Magazine*, 1868.

EZRA RIPLEY

1751–1841

Ezra Ripley, a son of Noah and Lydia (Kent) Ripley, was born at Woodstock, Conn., May 1, 1751, though the family removed to Barre, Mass., in 1762. He was th fifth of nineteen children. He worked on the farm until he was sixteen years of age, and then, by the aid of the Rev. Dr. Forbes, of Gloucester, was prepared for Harvard College, and was admitted in July, 1772.

After his graduation he was for some time engaged in teaching a school in Plymouth, and subsequently studied theology for about a year, under the direction of the Rev. Jason Haven, of Dedham. Shortly after he was licensed to preach, the church and society in Concord, Mass., invited him, with great unanimity, to become their minister; and he was ordained on the 7th of November, 1778. During several of the first years of his ministry he, in common with many other clergymen of the day, suffered not a little from the depreciated currency and other circumstances connected with the Revolution; but his early training had been favorable to physical effort, and he addressed himself to farming with much success. He, however, felt it as a great evil that his attention was so much diverted from his appropriate work, and was often heard to say that he would have cheerfully lived on bread and water if, by so doing, he could have had his whole time for the studies and duties of his office.

At the time of his settlement there were divisions in town and church which had come down from the

ministry of his predecessors; but he quickly succeeded in healing them, and for forty years the whole town remained firmly united under his ministry. "He was educated," as the sermon preached at his funeral informs us, "in the Trinitarian and Calvinistic doctrines"; but his views seem to have undergone a gradual change,—so gradual that perhaps he was himself scarcely aware of the extent of it. There was little of incident in his history above what belongs to the history of almost every parish minister. He held on the even tenor of his way, greatly respected and revered by the community in which he lived, until sixty-three years from the time of his ordination and ninety from the time of his birth had passed away. Harvard gave him the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1816. In 1830 Rev. Hersey B. Goodwin[1] was settled as colleague pastor; and, after Mr. Goodwin's untimely death, Rev. Barzillai Frost[2] was colleague for four years and sole pastor for twenty years. In his Half-century Discourse, preached in 1828, Dr. Ripley expresses the opinion that he had written, in the course of his ministry, not less than twenty-five hundred sermons, many of which he had repeated, and not a few had rewritten. Within the last three or four years of his life, on account of the loss of his sight, he preached extempore; and, contrary to all that might have been anticipated from his long continued habit of writing, he uttered himself with as much fluency and propriety as if he had been accustomed to this mode of preaching during his whole ministry. His last sermon, preached the day after he was ninety years old, on the last two verses of the Book of Ecclesiastes, is said to have been, for vigor of thought and expression, worthy of his best days.

His death was sudden. On Friday evening, September 18, 1841, a friend from a distance visited him,

and they passed the evening in delightful intercourse; and at the close of it Dr. Ripley led in the family devotions with unusual fervor. He retired in perfect health, and in the course of the night was seized with paralysis. He lingered till the next Tuesday morning, when the spirit took its flight. His funeral took place September 23, on which occasion there was every demonstration of respect for his memory. The sermon was by his colleague, Mr. Frost, from John xvii. 4. Another sermon, with reference to the event, was delivered by the Rev. Dr. Francis, of Watertown (afterward Professor Francis of Harvard College), from Genesis xxv. 8.

Dr. Ripley was married on the 16th of November, 1780, to Mrs. Phœbe Emerson, widow of the Rev. William Emerson. They had three children. The life of their son, Rev. Samuel Ripley, appears in this book. Mrs. Ripley died on the 16th of February, 1825.

Dr. Ripley was through life a zealous friend of Harvard College. The following entry in his diary may illustrate it:—

"*August* 27, 1824.—Attended Commencement at Cambridge, probably for the last time. My feelings and determination united in taking leave of Commencement, which has long been a day of enjoyment and delight to me. I find myself too old for the fatigue and long services of the day. I did not meet one classmate. I felt myself out of date, and, though not treated with neglect, yet I am satisfied with scenes of the kind. I was highly gratified with the performances of the day, and by the manifest increase of learning and intellect in the college. The performances of the next day were excellent and very animating. This and the preceding day were rendered more highly joyous by the presence of General Lafayette.

I know not that I ever enjoyed a Commencement with a higher relish or less alloy, and I never was more gratified by evidence of the improvements made in the university. It is a matter of rejoicing and gratitude that I can bid adieu to Commencements with such high and well-grounded hopes of the future splendor and usefulness of Harvard University. Will God multiply blessings on my venerated Alma Mater to the latest generations!"

He did, however, attend Commencement after this. The last time was in 1836, at the second Centennial Anniversary, at which he offered prayer.

Dr. Ripley was frequently called upon for service at ordinations and installations in neighboring parishes, and most of his published sermons were preached on such occasions. His relations with his colleagues in the ministry were, in his later years, like those of a patriarch with a band of younger disciples. Particularly intimate were his associations with his nearest neighbor, Dr. Charles Stearns,* of Lincoln, a man of similar tastes, occupations, and convictions.

The following description of Dr. Ripley was written in 1848 by his step-son, Ralph Waldo Emerson:—

"He was a man so kind and sympathetic, his char-

* Charles Stearns, a son of Thomas and Lydia (Mansfield) Stearns, was born at Leominster, July 19, 1753. He entered Harvard University in 1769, and graduated in 1773. Immediately after his graduation he engaged in teaching; and during the years 1780 and 1781 he was tutor at Cambridge. He was a fine classical scholar; and, in the course of his ministry, upward of forty young men were prepared by him for admission to college.

Mr. Stearns was first employed to preach at Lincoln in October, 1780. On the 15th of January, 1781, the church voted unanimously (twenty-nine votes) to give him a call to settle with them in the ministry. On the 5th of February the town concurred (sixty-five to five), and voted him "£220 in hard money or its equivalent" (to which £70 was subsequently added) as a settlement, and £80 and

acter was so transparent, and his merits so intelligible to all observers that he was very justly appreciated in this community. He was a natural gentleman; no dandy, but courtly, hospitable, manly, and public-spirited; his nature social, his house open to all men. I remember the remark made by an old farmer, who used to travel hither from Maine, that 'no horse from the Eastern country would go by the Doctor's gate.' Travellers from the West and North and South could bear the like testimony. His brow was serene and open to his visitor, for he loved men; and he had no studies, no occupations, which company could interrupt. His friends were his study, and to see them loosened his talents and his tongue. In his house dwelt order and prudence and plenty. There was no waste and no stint. He was open-handed and just and generous. Ingratitude and meanness in his beneficiaries did not wear out his compassion. He bore the insult; and the next day his basket for the beggar, his horse and chaise for the cripple, were at their door. Though he knew the value of a dollar as well as another man, yet he loved to buy dearer and sell cheaper than others. He subscribed to all charities, and it is no reflection on others to say that

15 cords of wood a year. In 1797 the town voted "that the Rev. Mr. Stearns's salary should be £80 per year, at all times when the current price of Indian corn is 3*s*. and rye 4*s*. per bushel, and beef 20*s*. and pork 33*s*. per hundred, and to be increased or diminished according as the prices of those articles vary." Mr. Stearns was accordingly ordained and installed on the 7th of November, 1781, the sermon on the occasion being preached by the Rev. Zabdiel Adams, of Lunenburg.

In 1792 some of the principal citizens of Lincoln joined in establishing a school of a high order, of which Mr. Stearns became the principal. This school continued about ten years, and was eminently successful. Six quarto volumes, containing his lectures and addresses to the pupils, and records of their attendance and acquirements, are still in existence.

he was the most public-spirited man in the town. The late Dr. Gardiner, in a funeral sermon on some parishioner whose virtues did not readily come to mind, honestly said, 'He was good at fires.' Dr. Ripley had many virtues; and yet all will remember that, even in his old age, if the fire bell was rung, he was instantly on horseback with his buckets and bag.

"He was never distinguished in the pulpit as a writer of sermons, but in his house his speech was form and pertinence itself. You felt, in his presence, that he belonged by nature to the clerical class. He had a foresight, when he opened his mouth, of all that he would say; and he marched straight to the conclusion. In private discourse or in debate, in the vestry or the lyceum, the structure of his sentences was admirable,—so neat, so natural, so terse, his words fell like stones; and often, though quite unconscious of it, his speech was a satire on the loose, voluminous patchwork periods of other speakers. He sat down when he had done. A man of anecdote, his talk in the parlor was chiefly narrative. I remember the remark of a gentleman, who listened with much delight to his conversation, at the time when the Doctor was preparing to go to Baltimore and

In 1810 he was honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard College. He was also Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Dr. Stearns retained both his bodily and mental faculties in a remarkable degree. He preached his last sermon on the first Sabbath in July, 1826. He died on the 26th of that month, at the age of seventy-three. His funeral was attended on the 29th, and a sermon preached on the occasion by Dr. Ripley. The town erected a monument to his memory, with an inscription of which the following is a part:—

"He was distinguished for his high attainments in various branches of science; for strength and soundness of mind; for method and accuracy of reasoning, and facility in communicating knowledge.

Washington, that a man who could tell a story so well was company for kings and John Quincy Adams. With a very limited acquaintance with books, his knowledge was an external experience, an Indian wisdom, the observation of such facts as country life, for nearly a century, could supply. He watched with interest the garden, the field, the orchard, the house and the barn, horse, cow, sheep, and dog, and all the common objects that engage the thought of the farmer. He kept his eye on the horizon, and knew the weather like a sea captain. The usual experiences of men,—birth, marriage, sickness, death, burial, the common temptations, the common ambitions,—he studied them all, and sympathized so well in these that he was excellent company and counsel to all, even the most humble and ignorant. With extraordinary states of mind, with states of enthusiasm or enlarged speculation, he had no sympathy, and pretended to none. He was very sincere, and kept to his point; and his mark was never remote. His conversation was strictly personal, and apt to the person and the occasion. An eminent skill he had in saying difficult and unspeakable things; in delivering to a man or a woman that which all their other

By his piety, benevolence, and learning he gained the affection and respect of his beloved people, the esteem and confidence of his numerous friends, and the well-deserved honors of literary societies. His life was full of practical goodness, the genuine fruit of deep-felt piety, and his death of religious hope and peace. By the habitual exercise of faith, humility, patience, and charity he exhibited Christianity in a strong and prominent light, and is gone, it is believed, to enjoy the rewards of a good and faithful servant of Jesus Christ."

Mr. Stearns was married, January 7, 1782, to Susannah, daughter of Jonathan and Susannah Cowdry, of Reading. They had six sons and five daughters. Two of the sons entered the ministry. Mrs. Stearns died on the 24th of July, 1832, aged seventy-seven years.

friends had abstained from saying; in uncovering the bandage from a sore place, and applying the surgeon's knife with a truly surgical spirit. Was a man a sot or a spendthrift or too long time a bachelor or suspected of some hidden crime, or had he quarrelled with his wife or collared his father, or was there any cloud or suspicious circumstance in his behavior, the good pastor knew his way straight to that point, believing himself entitled to a full explanation, and whatever relief to the conscience of both parties plain speech could effect was sure to be procured. In all such passages he justified himself to the conscience, and commonly to the love, of the persons concerned. Many instances, in which he played a right manly part, and acquitted himself as a brave and wise man, will be long remembered. He was the more competent to these searching discourses from his knowledge of family history. He knew everybody's grandfather, and seemed to talk with each person rather as the representative of his house and name than as an individual. In him has perished more local and personal anecdote of this village and vicinity than is possessed by any survivor. This intimate knowledge of families, and this skill of speech, and still more his sympathy made him incomparable in his parochial visits and in his exhortations and prayers with sick and suffering persons. He gave himself up

The following is a list of Dr. Stearns's publications: A Sermon at an Exhibition of Sacred Music in Lincoln, 1792; The Ladies' Philosophy of Love, a Poem in Four Cantos, written in 1774, published in 1797; Dramatic Dialogues for the Use of Schools, 1798; Principles of Religion and Morality, 1798 (2d edition, 1807); A Sermon preached at the Interment of Hon. Eleazar Brooks, 1806; A Sermon delivered at Concord before the Middlesex Bible Society, 1815; A Sermon before the Convention of Congregational Ministers, Boston, 1815; A Sermon at the Interment of Mrs. Phœbe Foster, Wife of the Rev. Edmond Foster at Littleton.

to his feeling, and said on the instant the best things in the world. Many and many a felicity he had in his prayer, now forever lost, which defied all the rules of the rhetoricians. He did not know when he was good in prayer or sermon, for he had no literature and no art; but he believed, and therefore spoke."

Senator George F. Hoar said of Dr. Ripley:—

"I suppose there never was priestly authority more despotic or more gentle than that which Dr. Ripley ruled this town for the sixty-three years of his ministry. I remember very well the figure of the doctor in the streets of Concord, or as he stood in the pulpit of the old meeting-house, under the lofty sounding-board, with the deacons' pew below, the galleries running round three sides of the building, the square, high-backed pews, the dim light through the small panes of the windows, the congregation adorned by the hoary heads of the survivors of the Revolution as with crowns of glory.

"The doctor's dress, with his cue and his tight breeches and his polished shoes and buckles, was that of the generation of which he was almost the last survivor. He was small in stature, but of a dignified presence. He was always a gentleman. His greeting in the street was a stately ceremonial. There was no hand-shaking or clapping on the shoulder or familiarity of speech. It was an event in one's life to have met him. He addressed the Deity as a believer in an immediate answer to prayer, and with a certain sense of responsibility as a petitioner, conscious that he was himself a person to whom God had long been wont to listen, and that he must not use his great influence lightly."

Another son of the Concord parish, the Rev. G. W. Hosmer, wrote:—

"Dr. Ripley filled the town to which he ministered.

Nearly fifty years he was the only minister in Concord, with a parish of about two thousand souls; and to me and my contemporaries he seemed as much a part of the town as its hills and rivers. He was settled in the days of my great-grandfather, and five generations of my family were partakers in the benefits of his ministry.

"It was not true of Dr. Ripley that his pulpit was his throne. As a preacher, he was sensible and serious, always moving in the ranges of common thought and practical life. He kept up his scholarly habits better than most country clergymen of his time, but he had no genius. His mind was hard, and the fires of his feeling did not make it fluent in the pulpit; and his manner was not graceful nor winning. His throne was his character; and he sat upon it, a born king. Some might say he was arbitrary and imperious; but all knew he was a *man*, fearless in his duty, and determined to walk in the ordinances of his God and Saviour, blameless.

"In parochial service Dr. Ripley was a pattern of fidelity. Every corner of the town, every house, knew his friendly greeting. He knew all about every family, and their ancestors, often better than they themselves knew. Before Sunday-schools were organized, he met all the children at their school-houses twice a year, for catechising; and those who did not know their catechism were made to feel that they must know it before the next parochial round. It was a great moment when we stood up for the first time, at the call of our name, before Dr. Ripley. Then he was the main stay of the common schools and all the benevolent and social organizations of the town. The courts of Middlesex, one-half of them, were held at Concord; and Dr. Ripley, by his dignified and venerable bearing and highly appropri-

ate services, won the deep respect of the judges and the bar."

Dr. Edward Jarvis, another son of Concord, adds this description:—

"During all my knowledge of Dr. Ripley from my earliest childhood to 1839, two years before his death, his personal appearance seemed to have hardly changed. When I first knew him, he was near sixty years old; and then he seemed to be an old man. And yet he bore none of the marks of old age, save that he wore a gray wig. He was vigorous, very active, bright and cheerful, and so he continued for many years afterwards.

"He wore the same style of dress from my first to last acquaintance. Indeed, he said, a few years before his death, that he had never worn pantaloons, or straight coat, or short vest, or cravat, or narrow-rimmed hat; nor did he afterwards. But he always wore small-clothes, long stockings, knee-buckles, a very long round coat, the folds reaching to the calf of the leg, a long waistcoat open at bottom with bands over the pockets, white neck stock buckled behind, and a wide-rimmed, low-crowned hat. His dress gave him great personal dignity; and, though his frame was short below the average, yet I never heard him spoken of as a short man.

"His manner was highly dignified, rather stately, but very courteous. These qualities he always retained; and, though cheerful and very social, he ever manifested his self-respect, and commanded the respect of others. To some, the timid, those who knew him but little, this stateliness was forbidding; and they were afraid of him. But to most people he was very approachable and agreeable.

"Dr. Ripley was by no means distinguished as a scholar; but his great gift was his knowledge of men and the affairs of the world, his appreciation of its

interests and sympathy with its wants. He would have been an excellent man of affairs and business manager in any way he might have been trained. He was very punctilious in all his business arrangements, exact in his accounts, and methodical in all his private, social, and public matters."

[1] Hersey Bradford Goodwin, 1805–1836, was born at Plymouth, Mass., August 18, 1805. His father, William Goodwin, was a highly respected citizen, and for many years cashier of the Plymouth Bank. His mother and step-mother were daughters of Captain Simeon Sampson, distinguished as a naval officer during the war of the Revolution. He was prepared for college at the Sandwich Academy, under the instruction of Mr. Bernard Whitman, afterwards minister of Waltham, and graduated at Harvard with high honor in 1826.

Immediately after his graduation Mr. Goodwin, in fulfilment of an early formed purpose, entered the Divinity School at Cambridge. He was ordained and installed at Concord as colleague to Dr. Ripley February 17, 1830. The sermon on the occasion was preached by his own pastor, the Rev. Dr. Kendall, of Plymouth. He was received by the people with great cordiality. His venerable colleague also heartily welcomed him to share his labors; and, as long as he lived, their intercourse was characterized by parental affection and solicitude, on the one hand, and a lively filial consideration, on the other.

In June, 1830, Mr. Goodwin was married to Lucretia Ann Watson, of Plymouth. The union, however, was destined to be brief, as she died suddenly, on the 11th of November, 1831. He felt the shock most deeply, and yet he met it with great composure of spirit.

In the spring of 1833 Mr. Goodwin travelled west and south-west for the benefit of his health, extending his journey as far as St. Louis. During his absence he wrote several interesting letters, which were first published in the Old Colony Memorial and some of them afterwards copied into the *Christian Register*. After an absence of five months he returned to his people in September, with his health apparently quite re-established, and resumed his pastoral labors with his accustomed zeal. In June, 1834, he was married to Amelia Mackay, of Boston, who cheered the brief remainder of his life by her affection. On Thursday, July 7, 1836, after having spent the day at Plymouth in riding, walking, and conversing, he retired apparently as well as usual, but during the night was seized with paral-

ysis, and never afterwards spoke or opened his eyes. He died early on the morning of Saturday, the 9th.

Dr. Kendall, who had known him from his birth, spoke of him, in a funeral sermon, in these terms: "His sober, thoughtful countenance, even in childhood, we well remember. His eye and his heart already pointed upwards, and seemed to indicate the profession that would be his choice and the holy vocation he was purposed to pursue. From the cradle to the grave we have seen his course marked by the same purity of principle, the same integrity of purpose, the same devout aspirations, the same consistency of Christian character."

Dr. Hosmer said of him: "My first knowledge of Mr. Goodwin was in 1822, when we met as classmates in Harvard College. The little child and the mature man were finely blended in his talk and bearing,—so simple, yet so intelligent, amiable, and easy, yet never losing a dignified propriety. He soon became, without seeming to think of it, a great favorite in the class. I think no one among us was so universally known, and none more deeply loved. I do not remember that his friendships had any clouds. His goodness of heart was constant and unbounded, and kept perpetual sunshine wherever he was.

"Mr. Goodwin was a superior scholar. Though not keenly ambitious enough to be among the very first in the class, he was very good in all departments. His mind was well balanced, and became mature at an early age. But the crowning beauty of his college life was the singular union of purity, freedom, and love by which it was characterized. 'He did not need the smart of folly to make him wise, nor the sting of guilt to make him virtuous.' And the same qualities which made us so fond of him in college touched the hearts of all who were brought into intimate relations with him in subsequent life.

"Mr. Goodwin was not a commanding pulpit orator. His presence was gentle and unimposing; but his benignant face, sweet musical voice, and a certain loving earnestness drew his hearers to him; and his fine serious thought and glowing emotion, expressed in a style always chaste and appropriate and sometimes beautifully eloquent, made him a favorite and effective preacher.

"As a pastor, Mr. Goodwin possessed remarkable qualities. There was a beauty in his life and bearing that opened a way for him to all hearts. He had a nice tact. He could touch the wounded spirit, and tenderly soothe its distress. He could let in light upon a darkened soul without a bit of cant. The young were not afraid of him, because they felt the genial warmth of his love."

The following is from a letter written by the Rev. Cazneau Palfrey: –

"His whole appearance indicated a deficiency of muscular force. Yet he possessed great nervous energy and sensibility. Fine silken hair testified to the delicacy of his organization. His eye was clear, dark, and penetrating. His step was quick, all his motions alert, his manner vivacious. Except when depressed by illness, he was uniformly cheerful and hopeful, much disposed to drollery and jocularity, and a keen appreciator of similar traits in others. The sweetness of his temper and the kindliness of his disposition were imperturbable; but he had a very quick and strong indignation against moral wrong. His sympathy was always ready for every one. He entered instantly and heartily into the case of either friend or stranger who required his services, and he was disinterested and indefatigable in rendering the needed help. A nature so singularly communicative as his could not fail to make him a great favorite in college society. If I were to say that he was the most popular member of our class, I should hardly do justice to the feeling entertained for him. That feeling was something more than what was meant by college popularity. No one was more truly loved, and no one was consulted and confided in by so many as he. The same trait afterward made him eminent in the pastoral office.

"As a preacher, Mr. Goodwin was eminently plain and practical. It was not his habit to discuss deep subjects in the pulpit or to rise into the highest regions of thought and imagination. He aimed at bringing home the truths he taught to the hearts and consciences of his hearers by familiar illustrations drawn from the common affairs of life. His manner was earnest and persuasive. The familiar tones of his voice and the ease and freedom of his manner gave to his discourses the effect of extemporaneous speaking. He was a popular preacher in his own and the neighboring pulpits."

[2] Barzillai Frost was born in Effingham, N.H., June 18, 1904. He was fitted for college at Exeter, and graduated at Harvard in 1830. For two years he taught at the Framingham Academy, and then for a time took the place of Professor Farrar as professor of mathematics at Harvard. In 1835 he graduated at the Harvard Divinity School; and on February 1, 1837, he was ordained at Concord as colleague with Dr. Ripley. After twenty years of service, ill-health overtook him; and he resigned his charge October 3, 1857, and died at Concord, December 8, 1858. Mr. Frost entered into the work of Dr. Ripley with remarkable sympathy and adaptation. He contributed the sketch of Dr. Ripley to Ware's Unitarian Biography. As a preacher, he was not imaginative or emotional, but sound and judicious. He spoke as one having authority, and gave no uncertain sound. He was eager in the service of the schools,

zealous against intemperance and slavery, and active in all kinds of public service. Though of frail body, his cheerfulness was unfailing, and his intercourse with men was marked by healthiness of mind and kindliness of temper.

Senator George F. Hoar wrote of him:—

"Mr. Frost had an intellect which would have made him famous as a mathematician or a man of science. He sometimes rose in his preaching to a very lofty strain of eloquence. He was a man of saintly character; and, although he was lacking in humor and in the sense of congruity, his influence was a powerful one upon the character of the town. I suppose he was the original of Lowell's 'Parson Wilbur.'

"He was exceedingly conscientious. His sense of absolute veracity compelled him to utter a tame and homely fact in the midst of the loftiest imagery, sometimes reminding you of the Old Testament. The absolute veracity of the man came in with the tame and homely fact, and mingled the two together in a way which made it hard for the congregation to keep its countenance. I heard him say in a Thanksgiving sermon: 'The Lord hath dealt graciously with this people this year. He hath spared us from the pestilence that walketh in the darkness and the destruction that cometh at noon-day. True, we have had some chicken-pox and some measles.'

"But let no man undervalue Barzillai Frost. He was a great power and influence in the town for righteousness and good learning, an influence which lasted, in the characters of the men and women who were brought up under his teaching, long after he went to his reward."

The following is a list of Dr. Ripley's publications: A Sermon delivered at the Ordination of William Emerson at Harvard, 1791; A Sermon delivered on the Completion of a General Repair of the Meeting-house in Concord, 1792; A Sermon delivered at the Ordination of Rosewell Messenger, 1798; A Sermon delivered on Occasion of the Execution of Samuel Smith for Burglary, 1799; A Masonic Discourse delivered at Haverhill, Mass.; A Sermon preached at the Ordination of his Son, Samuel Ripley, 1809; A Sermon delivered at Acton, at the Interment of Mrs. Abigail Adams, Wife of the Rev. Moses Adams, 1812; A Sermon delivered at the Ordination of John White, 1814; A Sermon delivered at the Installation of the Rev. William Frothingham, 1819; A Sermon delivered at the Ordination of E. Q. Sewall, 1819; A Discourse on Education, delivered at the Opening of several new School-houses, 1820; Several Charges and Right Hands of Fellowship at Ordinations and Installations; History of the Concord Fight on the 19th of April, 1775, 1827; A Sermon in the *Liberal Preacher*, 1827; A Half-century Sermon, 1828; A Sermon in the *Liberal Preacher*, 1829.

Dr. Sprague's account of Dr. Ripley, from which this sketch is derived, was based on Dr. Ripley's Half-century Sermon and the various sermons occasioned by his death. The note on Mr. Goodwin is taken from Dr. Sprague's sketch, based on an article in the *Christian Examiner*, 1837. The note on Mr. Frost is derived from Dr. Miles's Funeral Sermon and the History of Concord. The note on Dr. Stearns is derived from information sent to Dr. Sprague by Dr. A. P. Peabody, Rev. J. L. Sewall, and Mr. J. L. Sibley.

SAMUEL KENDAL

1753–1814

Samuel Kendal was a son of Elisha and Ruth Kendal, and was born in Sherborn, Mass., on the 11th of July, 1753. His father was a blacksmith, and the son spent his early years at home, working for the farmers in the neighborhood and attending school a few weeks only in the winter. When he was about fourteen or fifteen years of age, his father, in the hope of better providing for a large family, moved to Annapolis, N.S. Here the son continued to work on farms till he was nineteen years of age, when he had earned enough to purchase of his father the remaining two years of his minority. From early childhood he had formed the purpose of acquiring an education and becoming a minister. With this object always before him, he surmounted obstacles that to a less determined and energetic spirit would have been insuperable. He was so delighted with the idea of returning to New England that he crossed the Bay of Fundy at great risk with one other person in a row-boat so small that they could carry it ashore themselves. He went immediately to his native town, and there studied under the instruction of the Rev. Elijah Brown, supporting himself meanwhile by working on Mr. Brown's farm. Just as he was prepared for college, he found himself amidst the perils and excitements of the Revolution, and he felt it his duty to enter the army, though, as a preliminary step, and with characteristic foresight, he went into the hospital and had the small-pox. Owing to these various embarrassments and detentions, he did not enter

Harvard until he was twenty-five years of age. As he was obliged to rely entirely on his own exertions for paying his college expenses, he devoted his vacations to teaching school, besides fitting several young men for college, two or three of whom afterwards acquired distinction. By his uncommon industry and prudence he not only met all his current expenses, but was forty pounds richer when he left college than when he entered. He graduated in 1782, with an excellent reputation as a scholar.

After his graduation it is believed that he spent most of his time at Cambridge in the study of theology until he was licensed to preach by the Cambridge Association. He had scarcely begun to preach before he received a call to settle over the church in Weston as successor to the Rev. Samuel Woodward, who had died the preceding year. He accepted the call, and was ordained on the 5th of November, 1783, the Rev. Dr. Willard, president of Harvard College, preaching the ordination sermon.

Mr. Kendal during the early period of his ministry was visited with sore trials. Before he had a home in Weston, his father returned from Nova Scotia, being threatened with imprisonment for his refusal to take the oath of allegiance to George III. He worked at his trade in Roxbury until his son became a housekeeper, and was able to give him a home with his own family. He left behind him in Nova Scotia six daughters, three of whom were married. When they heard that their brother was settled in Weston and had a home for their father, the married sisters placed the three girls who were unmarried on board a vessel for Boston; and the first he knew of their having left Nova Scotia was that they arrived at his own door in a state of destitution, having walked from Boston. By the assistance of some friends of his he quickly succeeded in providing

them with homes where they could prepare themselves for usefulness. Scarcely had this perplexity been surmounted, and the prospect of being able to support his family and pay off a debt necessarily incurred begun to open upon him, when his house took fire in the night of the 19th of February, 1791. A deep snow had fallen a few days before, and not a single neighbor knew of the fire till just as the house and contents fell together into the cellar. Fortunately, Mr. Kendal had a small study near his house, in which the family were able to find a shelter till daylight. When the disaster came to be known, there was no lack of friends to proffer their hospitalities, and in due time a new house was built on the site of the old one. As Mr. Kendal saw his manuscripts burning, he remarked that for once his sermons were able to give light.

Mr. Kendal, more especially in the early part of his ministry, received a considerable number of young men into his house to prepare them for college,—a measure which a small salary rendered necessary to the support of his family. But his time was devoted almost exclusively to his professional duties. He was frequently called upon for public services abroad, and it is believed never failed to meet the demands of the occasion. In the year 1806 the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by Yale College,—an evidence that his character was known and appreciated beyond the limits of his own State, and that his orthodoxy was not seriously suspected.

It is not easy to decide just where Dr. Kendal belonged theologically. The statement of doctrine in his printed sermons lacks definiteness. Dr. Lamson, who was brought up in his church, says: "I remember that when I went to Andover to complete my preparation for college, and heard Dr. Griffith, Drs. Woods and Stewart and others preach, the views were abso-

lutely new to me. I have never heard anything of the kind from Dr. Kendal or from those who occupied his pulpit by exchange." Dr. Kendal's own children did not know his theological position. When his daughter Abigail visited Hartford, and was asked whether her father was an Arian or a Calvinist, she was unable to answer. On her return, when she told her father how ashamed she was not to know which of these titles belonged to him, he said: "My daughter, I am glad you did not know. I do not want to wear any party label." The probable fact is that Dr. Kendal moved into new realms of thought and feeling, like many of his fellow-ministers, without realizing the movement or the distance traversed. Suffice it that the First Parish of Weston under his ministration, and without any division, became Unitarian in its thought and principles. As early as 1800 we have indication of this change in the vote of the parish to adopt Dr. Belknap's collection of hymns in place of Tate and Brady. Dr. Belknap's collection, as we have seen, was the first collection of hymns published in this country which was of a declared Unitarian character. About the same time an amendment was introduced into the church covenant, putting the conduct of life above doctrinal belief. While, therefore, Dr. Kendal was in no wise obnoxious to the more conservative Congregationalists, his general sympathies were with the progressive party, and under his leadership his church was prepared for the more pronounced position which it assumed under his successor, Dr. Field.*

Dr. Kendal experienced very little interruption of his labors from sickness. In an historical discourse that he delivered the year before his death he stated that he had been detained from public worship but one Sabbath, either by sickness or inclemency of weather,

*See Vol. III. p. 341.

for thirty years, and that he had left the pulpit without a supply on his own private business for two Sabbaths only within that period. He continued to supply his pulpit regularly until the Sunday preceding his death, which occurred on Tuesday morning, February 15, in the sixty-first year of his age and the thirty-first of his ministry. The first intimation to the parish of his being ill was the solemn tolling of the bell at sunrise. His funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Osgood, of Medford.

Dr. Kendal was married, about the time that he began his ministry, to Mary Austin, of Cambridge, who died within two years. On the 12th of October, 1786, he was married to Abigail, the eldest daughter of his predecessor, the Rev. Samuel Woodward. She became the mother of four children, the youngest of whom she left an infant two hours old. In 1794 he married Miranda Woodward, another daughter of his predecessor, who also became the mother of four children. She survived him seventeen years, and died in 1832. Dr. Kendal's father survived him nine years, and had his home in the family till his death, in 1824, when he lacked but a few days of ninety-nine years.

The Rev. James Kendall wrote of him in 1856:—

"Dr. Kendal had a large, firmly built frame, was well proportioned, and had a commanding and dignified presence. His mind was vigorous, comprehensive, and well stored; but he was much more at home in the regions of sound common sense and practical thought than of philosophical speculation. His manners were those of a gentleman of the old school,—bland and courteous without much of artificial polish. His whole life was an exhibition of the most unbending integrity. The resolution of the patriarch seemed to have been his motto: 'Till I die, I will not remove my integrity from me; my righteousness shall stand

forth, and I will not let it go; my heart shall not reproach me so long as I live.'"

The Rev. Dr. Lamson wrote of him:—

"I regarded Dr. Kendal with a sort of awe, and never thought of criticising any of his performances. He possessed a remarkably vigorous intellect. He was a clear-headed man, and always thought for himself,—a man of decision and energy. His appearance, voice, tone, and manner, all carried authority with them. Yet he was far from what would be called a dogmatist. He reasoned out his opinions, and held them firmly, but without one particle of bigotry or uncharitableness. His services were plain, practical, earnest, and fitted to make an impression that he felt that he was dealing in momentous realities. I do not think that he ever preached a feeble sermon. He avoided, according to my recollection, introducing into his pulpit discussions on subjects of polemical theology. He was not in any sense a controversial preacher. He belonged to the old school of liberal theologians."

The following is a list of Dr. Kendal's publications:—

A Sermon at the Ordination of Thaddeus Mason Harris, Dorchester, 1793; A Sermon on the Day of the National Thanksgiving, 1795; A Sermon at the Ordination of Isaac Allen, 1804; A Sermon at the General Election, 1804; A Sermon at the Ordination of Avery Williams, 1807; A Sermon at the Interment of the Hon. Samuel Dexter, 1810; Seven Sermons to Young People, published in the *Christian Monitor*, 1810; A Sermon at the Ordination of Peter Nourse, 1812; A Sermon delivered at Weston on the Termination of a Century since the Incorporation of the Town, 1813; A Sermon delivered at the Ordination of Isaac Hurd, 1813; A Sermon on the Love of God (date not ascertained).

Dr. Sprague's article, from which the above sketch is abridged, was chiefly derived from a manuscript sent him by Dr. Kendal's daughter, Mrs. Marshall. Use has also been made here of the historical sermons by Rev. Charles F. Russell and the addresses at the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of the church in Weston.

ELIPHALET PORTER

1758–1833

Eliphalet Porter was born in North Bridgewater (now Brockton), Mass., June 11, 1758. He was a son of the Rev. John Porter, a native of Abington, who was graduated at Harvard College in 1736, was ordained at North Bridgewater in 1740, and died in 1802 at the age of eighty-seven. The father was a decided Calvinist, and one or two controversial pamphlets of his remain to show with what tenacity he held that system of doctrine, and with what earnestness he defended it. The son graduated at Harvard in 1777, the youngest of three brothers in the same class. His theological studies he prosecuted under the direction of his father. The First Church in Roxbury had been vacant since the death of the Rev. Amos Adams,* in 1775, for seven years, and, having heard various candidates, finally, in 1782, extended a nearly unanimous call to Mr. Porter. He was ordained October 2, 1782, the sermon being preached by his father and the charge delivered by Dr. Samuel Cooper, of Boston. In later years he was wont to say that his lines could not have fallen in pleasanter places.

*Amos Adams was born at Medfield, September 1, 1728; was graduated at Harvard College in 1752; was ordained and installed pastor of the First Church in Roxbury, September 12, 1753; and died October 5, 1775, aged forty-eight. He published the Massachusetts Election Sermon, 1759; A Thanksgiving Sermon on the Reduction of Quebec, 1759; A Sermon at the Ordination of John Wyeth (who was born at Cambridge; was graduated at Harvard College in 1760; was ordained at Gloucester, February 5, 1766; was dismissed in 1768; and died February 2, 1811, aged sixty-eight); A Sermon preached at Roxbury, 1767; Two Thanksgiving Discourses on Religious Liberty, 1767; Two Fast Discourses, 1769; A Sermon at the Ordination of Caleb Prentiss (who was born at Cam-

In October, 1801, he was married to Martha, daughter of Major Nathaniel Ruggles, of Roxbury. She died without issue, in December, 1814. In 1807 he was honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard College.

In 1810 Dr. Porter preached the Annual Sermon at the Convention of the Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts. The controversy between the two parties, known as the "orthodox" and the "liberal," was by that time no new thing; but, so far as the latter class at least were concerned, it had rarely, if ever, been introduced into the pulpit, especially on any great public occasion. Dr. Porter stepped aside from the course of his predecessors, and brought out a bold and earnest defence of the principles for which the liberal party were contending. The sermon produced great excitement at the time, and it has been acknowledged, by those who disliked as well as those who liked it, to be the ablest of Dr. Porter's printed productions. It is important now, chiefly as having marked a sort of epoch in the controversy, and as indicating the then existing state of theological opinion.

The subject of the discourse was "The Simplicity that is in Christ, and the Danger of its being Corrupted." Its general spirit and character may be sufficiently indicated by the following extract:—

bridge, November 25, 1746; was graduated at Harvard College in 1765; was ordained and installed pastor of the church in Reading, October 25, 1769; and died February 7, 1803, aged fifty-six. He belonged to the class who were called "Moderate Calvinists," differing, however, very little, if at all, from Arminians. In the War of the Revolution he was a most earnest patriot, and in more than one instance shouldered his musket to meet the enemy. He was greatly respected, not only in his own parish, but throughout the region in which he lived. He was married to the eldest daughter of the Rev. John Mellen, of West Lancaster (now Sterling), and had thirteen children.)

"What are we to think of those articles of faith which have been long received in the Church, and considered, perhaps generally, as fundamentals, and essential to be believed? What are we to think of those disputed articles of faith which have been retained or taught and required in the catechisms and confessions of Protestant and Reformed Churches, and, in particular, among ourselves? Or, to be more explicit still,—for I wish to be understood,—what are we to think of the doctrines of original sin and total depravity; of imputation of sin and righteousness; of a trinity in unity; of the mere humanity, superangelic nature, or absolute Deity of Christ; of particular and general redemption; of unconditional decrees of personal election and reprobation; of moral inability and the total passiveness of man in regeneration; of the special and irresistible operation of the Holy Spirit; of perseverance, or the impossibility of the believer's total apostasy; and, to mention no more, the absolute eternity of the torments to which the wicked will be sentenced at the last day?

"My individual belief, in respect to the truth or error of these points, can be of but little importance, and my subject no way requires that it should be given. It rather becomes me to follow the example which has been sometimes set by learned judges on the bench, when difficult questions suggested themselves, but whose decision the main subject before them did not require, and prudently say, *Neque teneo, neque refello.* But it is pertinent to the object of this discourse, and consonant to my serious and deliberate conviction, to observe that I cannot place my finger on any one article, in the list of doctrines just mentioned, the belief or the rejection of which I consider as essential to the Christian faith or character. I believe that an innumerable company of Christians who never heard

of these articles, or who were divided in their opinions respecting them, have fallen asleep in Jesus; and that innumerable of the same description are following after."

With the exception of this sermon Dr. Porter seems to have taken no part in controversy. He was in no sense a sectarian, but always a mild champion of toleration and Christian unity. He was willing to be counted among the Unitarians, but he had no interest in ecclesiastical discords and divisions.

Dr. Porter's life, like that of most parish ministers, was marked by little variety. He continued his stated labors without much interruption till he was past seventy, when it became apparent to both himself and others that his strength was inadequate to the full discharge of the duties of his office. Accordingly, it was agreed that he should have a colleague; and Mr. George Putnam* was called and settled, with his hearty consent and approbation. Without any controversy or division the church in Roxbury followed the neighboring churches of Dorchester, Boston, and Cambridge in the Unitarian movement.

On the 7th of October, 1832, on the completion of fifty years of his ministry, Dr. Porter preached a sermon containing some historical sketches of his parish, and particularly a review of his own ministerial labors. Having referred to his ordination, he says:—

"The solemn transactions of that day were adapted to excite reflection, lead to resolutions, and make impressions on the mind which half a century ought not, and, as the speaker trusts, has not, wholly effaced from his mind. But he laments that they have not had a more constant, powerful, and salutary effect on his life and labors. He laments that he has not better fulfilled the ministry he received of the Lord, and better per-

* See Vol. III. p. 308.

formed his vows. A sense of his many neglects and defects in duty he can truly say is the greatest burden of his life; and he would this day humble himself before God, and in the presence of the great congregation, for his want of greater diligence and activity, constancy, faithfulness, and zeal in the discharge of the work given him to do."

Dr. Putnam said of Dr. Porter: "He was not endowed with that ardor of mind, with that freedom, fulness, and glowing facility of thought or speech, which fit a preacher for distinction. In the prime of his life he held a most respectable rank among his contemporaries as a sound, instructive, practical preacher, rightly dividing the word of the law. As a pastor, though he was a man of few words, and felt that indiscriminate social intercourse was not his fittest element, yet few men ever spoke with more meaning or to so good a purpose. He did not dazzle, but he enlightened."

His death occurred on Saturday, 7th of December, 1833, and his funeral was attended on the succeeding Wednesday by a large concourse. The sermon, by his colleague, was from Genesis xxv. 8.

Dr. Porter held several important public trusts. He was a member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard University, and from 1818 till his death a member of the Corporation. He was treasurer for many years of the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society, was an original trustee of the Massachusetts Bible Society, and was among the founders of the Society for the Suppression of Intemperance.

The Rev. John Pierce, of Brookline, described Dr. Porter as follows:—

"As to his person, he was not above the common stature, and in his figure was erect and well proportioned. His hair, which was of chestnut color, scarcely underwent any perceptible change till the time of his

death. He was a remarkable instance of unfailing eyesight. Neither he nor his father before him ever used glasses.

"The predominating characteristic of his mind was a sound judgment. He always came to his conclusions cautiously, and seldom had occasion subsequently to alter them. He had what is usually called a discriminating mind. He readily discussed minute points of difference, and sometimes evinced no inconsiderable skill in the management of subtle and knotty questions. He had little or no imagination, and pretended to none. But he was distinguished for his sober and correct estimate of things, generally saying the right thing in the right manner and at the right time. So remarkable was he for discretion in his social intercourse that it has been said of him that, if his most intimate associates were to become his bitterest enemies, they would find it difficult to use even his most confidential communications to his disadvantage. In mixed company he was generally very taciturn; but, among his intimate friends, he was a cheerful and agreeable companion.

"Dr. Porter could by no means be ranked among the popular preachers of his day. His manner was entirely simple and unadorned, and his matter, though well digested and always indicating thought and study, was destitute of those striking qualities that usually render a preacher attractive. His discourses were the product of labor rather than excitement, and they were addressed rather to the understanding than the affections.

"The late Judge Lowell, who was long one of Dr. Porter's constant hearers, is said to have remarked that of all the preachers whom he was accustomed to hear there was no one who furnished more food to his intellect than his own pastor. But, as I have already

remarked, with the mass of hearers he could not be regarded as a favorite.

"Being naturally of a reserved habit, his intercourse with his people was less frequent and less free than some of them would have wished; but I believe he was never lacking in due attention to the sick and afflicted. His general gravity and dignity of deportment always secured the respect, not only of his own people, but of the community at large.

"Dr. Porter evinced great wisdom in the management of his worldly concerns. Indeed, so exact was he that he did not always escape the suspicion of an undue regard to his own interest. But it was not true that he was a selfish man. On the contrary, he was distinguished for his generosity to the poor, and his hand was always open to every object that he considered a deserving one.

"I must not omit to say that Dr. Porter felt a deep interest in the affairs of the State and the nation, and sometimes spoke out his political sentiments with considerable freedom. Several times he showed that his prudence was not timidity by expressing views in the pulpit which brought him in conflict with some leading individuals of his parish. Some temporary coolness, if not alienation, grew out of his fearlessness in this respect; but I believe that it had nearly all ceased before those in whom it had appeared went to their graves."

The following is a list of Dr. Porter's publications: A Thanksgiving Sermon, preached at Roxbury, 1783; A Discourse delivered before the Roxbury Charitable Society, 1794; A Discourse delivered at Brookline and Roxbury on the National Fast, 1798; A Sermon on the Death of Governor Sumner, 1799; A Eulogy on George Washington, 1800; A Discourse before the Humane Society, Boston, 1802; A Sermon at the Ordination of Charles Lowell, 1806; A Sermon before the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America, 1807; A Sermon before the Massachusetts Convention of Ministers, 1810; An Artillery Election Sermon, 1812; A Sermon at the Ordination of John G. Palfrey.

Dr. Sprague based his sketch of Dr. Porter on Dr. Putnam's Funeral Sermon. Use has also been made here of the article from the same hand in Ware's Unitarian Biography.

SIMEON DOGGETT

1765–1852

Simeon Doggett was born in Middleboro, Mass., on the 6th of March, 1765. His mother was a native of North Carolina, and had brought with her from her Southern birthplace the prepossessions of an Episcopal training. She took care early to indoctrinate the mind of her son with the tenets of the Church of England, and he retained an attachment to the English ritual till the close of life.

At an early age he showed a decided taste for study, and his father, though not a rich man, was able and willing to give him the advantages of a collegiate education. Accordingly, he was entered at Brown University, and graduated in 1788, at the age of twenty-three. Both before and during his college course he was engaged for some time in teaching, and acquired a strong relish for that kind of employment.

While he was in college, he was led to examine for himself the various systems of church government, and the result of his inquiry was that the Congregational, and not the Episcopal, order seemed to him the original form of church polity. An inquiry concerning Scriptural doctrine satisfied him that the Christian view of nature and of grace was that of Arminius, and not that of Calvin. Mr. Barker, the pastor of the church in Middleboro, was willing to admit him to communion; but one of his deacons, who was a very earnest Calvinist, could not feel satisfied that Doggett possessed the requisite qualifications, and his objections prevailed against the candidate. He, however, was soon after

received into the church in Providence, and before leaving college he had probably become a Unitarian.

On graduating Mr. Doggett returned to his father's house, and commenced the study of theology. In 1790 he went to live with Dr. Samuel West, of New Bedford, and prosecuted vigorously the study of his profession under the direction of that eccentric and able divine.

In the summer of 1791 he was chosen to be a tutor in Brown University, and held the office with great credit to himself and high advantage to the institution for five years. In July, 1796, Bristol Academy in Taunton was opened, with Mr. Doggett as its first preceptor. For seventeen years he served in this office with marked ability and fidelity, and with no ordinary success. Though his school was large and his labors in connection with it were arduous, yet he was enabled, in addition to his duties as a teacher, to preach quite regularly on the Sabbath.

In April, 1813, Mr. Doggett, much to the regret of the trustees of the institution, tendered his resignation as principal, and determined to enter on the duties of a parish minister, and realize the pleasure and honor which he had so long coveted. In the town of Mendon, at that time the second town in size in Worcester County, a number of his pupils were established in business, and he was solicited by them to come there and preach. The society at Mendon was large, influential, and supposed to be orthodox. Yet they called Mr. Doggett unanimously, and did not rescind their call when he, at a special meeting, stated his belief, and required, if he accepted the post, that the church creed and covenant, which he neither believed nor understood, should be altered. The neighboring clergy, notwithstanding his avowed dissent from their religious views, assisted at his ordination, and continued to exchange with him for several years.

Mr. Doggett remained in the ministry at Mendon until January, 1831, and though not a controversial preacher, and not disposed to place himself in an antagonistic attitude towards his brethren who differed from him, he was yet perfectly frank in the avowal of his opinions, and undoubtedly did much, in a quiet way, to modify the prevailing creed of the neighborhood. He was the pioneer liberal preacher of what is now the southern part of Worcester County, and the Mendon parish became the mother church of a number of sturdy children. As years increased upon him, he became sensible that a change of his field of labor would be better for him and better for the people of his charge. A small Unitarian society had been organized about this time in the town of Raynham, Bristol County, where some of his former friends and pupils resided, and he was cordially invited to become their pastor. Many circumstances concurred to render this a peculiarly attractive place to him, and hence he accepted the call, and commenced his ministry there in April, 1831.

Here, as in his preceding fields of labor, he was eminently conscientious, and diligent withal, so far as his increasing infirmities would permit. In the seminary where he had taught so long he was now an honored overseer. His pecuniary means were adequate to his desires, and placed him quite above the fear of want. He had a choice library, gathered and inherited, of the old standard theological works, and he had leisure to read them. The success of his children could bring joy to his heart, and, though they were widely separated from his home, their frequent letters kept the family union unbroken.

An interesting episode in his life at this period was his visit to the South, in the winter of 1834–35, where two of his sons were established. In the cities of

Charleston, St. Augustine, Jacksonville, and Savannah he was treated with marked attention, and invited in the last-mentioned city to preach at the dedication of the new Unitarian church, which service he very acceptably performed.

On the first day of his seventy-third year Mr. Doggett commenced a daily journal, which he continued for many years, until his hand had become too tremulous to write with ease. In this journal there are many things remarkable. It is rather a record of thoughts than of facts. It is a book of spiritual meditations, a continued self-examination and prayer. Two wishes are nearest the writer's heart, and are repeated on almost every page,—that no day may pass without some *useful* work, and that every day may carry him forward in the divine life. The confessions of Augustine do not show a more earnest self-renunciation, a more living and quick longing after holiness, than the journal of this old New England minister. This pervading religious tone dignifies the necessary monotony of the details of the weeks and the months. Every smallest event is made the theme of some spiritual reflection. The presents which friends send into the house come as special gifts from God. The common changes in nature, in social life, storm, and sunshine, health and sickness, old age and frequent death, all seem to him providential. Indeed, he seems always to write with a sense of God above, around, with, and within him.

The ministry of Mr. Doggett at Raynham continued until the year 1845, when, having reached the full term of fourscore years, he felt that it was time for him to give up the work so dear to his heart. The closing years of his life were serene and beautiful, disturbed by no calamity and clouded by no mental decay. On Sunday he was a wakeful and earnest listener to the word of younger friends, and, when his own church

closed, he worshipped cheerfully with brethren of a different faith, and found no fault with a manly utterance of views which he might not approve.

Mr. Doggett died in 1852, living to be the only survivor of his college class, the oldest graduate of Brown University with a single exception, and the oldest teacher of any public institution in Massachusetts. Though not a brilliant preacher, he was earnest in manner, clear and close in argument, concise in expression, and eminently serious. He was not tried, like many preachers, to find matter for religious instruction, nor did he catch at every chance of the day, every political movement, every novel occurrence, for a striking theme of discourse. His Bible gave him his texts and themes, and its store was exhaustless.

He was candid and deliberate in the formation of his judgments, hearing all sides and dismissing prejudice. But he rarely changed his opinions. If he distinctly stated any sentiment or any order, whether in the house, the school-room, or the church, it was known to be irrevocable. His word was law to his children and pupils. His parishioners were sure that nothing crude or doubtful would find through him an open utterance. He preferred, indeed, to speak commonplaces rather than strange and fantastic ideas. For transcendentalism of any kind, whether as a system of philosophy, a style of preaching, or a tone of conversation, he had no relish.

He was a most orderly and methodical man. He had a time for everything and a place for everything. He was happiest when his regular routine of life could go on unbroken, and did not tire of the monotony of his occupation. He gave a fair measure of time to domestic and manual labor, and often overtaxed a feeble frame to sustain this system of joining physical to intellectual toil. He was temperate even to abstemiousness, and frugal from principle. He had a space

in every day for worship, for work, for study, for social converse, and for meditation, and he rarely omitted any part of his daily purpose. And it was a surprise to his friends when, at any time, this regular order chanced to be varied. He wore small-clothes as long as he could find anybody to make them to suit him, and then reluctantly yielded to the tide of custom, and went into trousers.

He was a fine example of charity. He could not join in the scandals with which ordinary intercourse abounds. In conversation he indulged in no strong expressions in regard to the opinions or characters of others. There was a kindness, a gentleness, a dignified reserve in his manner that more effectually rebuked the utterance of severe and uncharitable words. He died, in the utmost tranquillity, on the 19th of March, 1852. On his study table was found, evidently left by design, the Cyropædia of Xenophon, with the leaf turned in at a passage which a Christian father might well adopt as advice to his children, and a manuscript sermon from the text, "Brethren, the time is short."

Mr. Doggett was married on the 29th of October, 1797, to Nancy, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Perez Fobes, of Raynham. They had eight children.

The following is a list of Mr. Doggett's printed productions: A Discourse on the Way of Eternal Life, preached at Norton and Providence, 1796; A Discourse on Education at the Opening of Bristol Academy, 1796; An Oration at Taunton on the 4th of July, 1799; A Discourse in Mendon at the Funeral of Richard George, 1827; A Sermon in Mendon on the Death of Captain Joseph Prince, 1828; A Sermon in Bridgewater at the Ordination of his Son, T. P. Doggett, 1833; Two Discourses on Slavery, 1835; National Union, a Fast Day sermon, 1839; A Sermon on Transcendentalism, preached on Fast Day, 1843.

The sketch of Mr. Doggett is condensed from the account of him written in 1861 by the Rev. Charles H. Brigham, of Taunton.

JOHN ALLYN

1767–1833

John Allyn, a son of James Allyn, a chair-maker, was born in Barnstable, Mass., on the 21st of March, 1767. He was fitted for college by the Rev. Mr. Hilliard, then minister of Barnstable, but afterwards the colleague and successor of Dr. Appleton, of Cambridge, and graduated at Harvard in 1785 at the early age of eighteen.

On leaving college, he returned to Barnstable, where he was engaged for a while in teaching. Having determined to devote himself to the work of the ministry, he studied theology under the direction of the learned and eccentric Dr. Samuel West, of New Bedford.

In September, 1788, he received an invitation from the church in Duxbury to become their pastor, and on the 3d of December the pastoral relation was constituted by the usual solemnities. The sermon on the occasion was preached by Dr. West, from 2 Timothy ii. 15, and was published in connection with the charge by Dr. Hitchcock of Pembroke, and the Right Hand of Fellowship, by the Rev. David Barnes, of Scituate.

In 1804 Mr. Allyn delivered the anniversary oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society in Harvard College. In the summer of 1807 he was employed on a missionary tour in Maine by the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America. In 1808 he was elected a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. In 1809 he delivered the Dudleian Lecture in Harvard College, on Supremacy and Infallibility. In 1813 he was honored by his Alma Mater with the degree of Doctor of Divinity. In 1820

he was sent by the town of Duxbury as a delegate to the Convention for revising the Constitution of Massachusetts.

Dr. Allyn continued sole pastor of his church till June 7, 1826, when the Rev. Benjamin Kent was settled as his colleague. After that time he seldom engaged in any public services, and it was manifest that both his strength and his spirits were gradually declining. He died on Friday, July 19, 1833, and his funeral was attended on the Monday following, when an appropriate discourse was delivered by his friend and college classmate, the elder Professor Ware, of Harvard University, from Luke xx. 36.

The following sketch was written by his son-in-law, the Rev. Convers Francis: "When I first knew Dr. Allyn personally, he had passed the period when his powers were most full and fresh, and something of decay might be observed in him. Still, however, there was a remarkable brightness in his best hours, and his genius gleamed out frequently in a way which would have induced any observer, I think, to infer that he was really an extraordinary man. The wisdom of a sage seemed to be invested with the naturalness, and frequently with the frolic-heartiness of a child. I always found that his quaint truthfulness and his exceedingly apt and amusing illustrations made a deep impression, especially upon young people. He seemed to be a revelation of a new sort of character to them; and they listened to him and looked at him with delighted wonder. I have heard that when, to enlarge a very scanty income, he took boys into his family as pupils, his influence upon them was of a very remarkable kind. He had his own peculiar way of managing them, and they loved and venerated him, notwithstanding occasional eccentricities. He used to say: 'I do with my boys as with my sheep. I take the

basket of corn and go before them, and they follow me.' He would often place his arm-chair under a tree in his orchard, and there amidst the greenness and the beauty of nature and the wholesome sweet air of the fields he would call the boys around him and hear their lessons, interspersing the exercises with amusing and wise remarks. These scenes, I am told, some of them still remember as bright and happy hours. Sometimes when a boy came to him who said he did not want to study, the doctor would reply: 'Well, you need not. You may go and run about the farm.' The consequence was that the boy soon grew weary of being alone and idle, especially as he saw the other boys studious and happy, and would come and ask to have his lesson set, and go to work as busily as the rest.

"When he was in good spirits, I think I never knew anything of the kind that equalled his genial vivacity and keen vigor of remark. It was surprising to see out of how trifling an incident, out of how casual a suggestion, he would create a rich fund of conversation, going on from one thing to another in the most delightful way till the company wondered to see whither they had come from so small a beginning. In the midst of playfulness he frequently suggested great principles with singular power.

"In theology Dr. Allyn never was a man to disguise or undervalue his faith, but I have seldom known one who had so strong an aversion to controversy. Not unfrequently he spoke of it in terms expressive even of thorough contempt. I remember the surprise and regret he expressed when his old and beloved friend, Dr. Ware, engaged in the controversy with Dr. Woods. In this as in some other matters he was wont to push a favorite notion to such an extreme that it became as one-sided as the error to which it was opposed. The odd expressions he frequently

used on religious subjects sometimes startled and offended those who require everything of this kind to be measured by a conventional standard of gravity. But no one could know Dr. Allyn without perceiving that he had the deepest reverence for sacred things. Tokens and evidences of this, which broke out spontaneously and often, I call to mind with pleasant recollection from his habitual feelings and conduct. . . .

"He had a way of conveying a rebuke or giving advice that sometimes was the more effective for the humor with which it was spiced. He once asked a fanatical itinerant, who had raised some excitement in Duxbury, why he came there to disturb the religious peace of the village. 'Because,' said the man, 'Christ has commanded us to preach the gospel to every creature.' 'Yes,' replied Dr. Allyn, 'but he has not commanded every creature to preach the gospel.' Sometimes, by a deeply serious turn, quite unexpected, he would produce a very solemn effect. On occasion of a family baptism one of the children was, as he knew, a very profane boy. When the doctor baptized him in the usual form, as he placed his hand on the youth's head, he added these words: 'Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.' The effect, it is said, was very impressive and very salutary.

"His benevolence was proverbial. I recollect that he used often to go to the cottages in the woods in distant parts of his parish, and carry a load of good things in his sleigh or chaise for the poor, especially for the old and sick. He would call several of these families together at one of their houses, hold with them a religious service of a very impressive, plain, practical character, and then distribute among them what he had brought for their comfort. He delighted to do such things as these, and his name was hallowed in the gratitude of the poor and friendless."

Another member of the family gives the following record of familiar impressions:—

"Dr. Allyn had always the zeal and the ardor that belong to genius, without ever concentrating it upon any particular subject. Had he turned his whole soul on any one object, had he been a scholar or an artist, he would have been great. He had the spirit of a reformer, and would have had the courage of Martin Luther if he had lived in his time. He began life with high aims and a pure love of his profession in all its various objects. From his later life it might be inferred that in his earlier days he was precocious, and even prematurely old. In his childhood and youth he was said by those who knew him at that period to have been much beloved by his companions, and yet to have been often in the habit of doing little things to make them uncomfortable, by way, as it would seem, of trial to their affection or else from some unaccountable waywardness of feeling. This trait might not be thought worth mentioning but for the fact that the habit, in some degree, followed him through life. The workings of his mind and heart were ever spontaneous and fresh. His best and brightest things were ever on the surface. He had ready sympathies for all, and none ever sought his forgiveness in vain. He delighted in the young, and was truly never so happy as when aiding in the development of the mind and heart and watching the simple growth of the young spirit. He loved nature in all its aspects and connections, and was often seen, in all the periods of his life, out of doors in some shady place, or by the running brook, attending to the lessons or the reading of his various pupils. In their recitations he was not only the book teacher, but he delighted to dwell on the spirit and beauty of the author, and thus wrought on the minds of his pupils with triple cords of love, duty, and justice. He suffered no oppor-

tunity to pass unimproved to awaken in others a zeal for improvement and a love of virtue. In his religion he was by no means regardless of forms, though he did not rest in them. He loved the Fathers, as he called them,—the strong pillars of the ancient Church. He read them with great interest, as also the old eminent English divines. Though decided in his own opinions, he was never a bigot or sectarian, but allowed and respected all honest convictions, however widely different from his own. Truly catholic in his temper, he loved all that was good in humanity, and had a ready eye to discover it."

In 1791 or 1792 he was married to Abigail Bradford, a daughter of Job and Elizabeth Bradford and a lineal descendant from William Bradford, the ancient Plymouth governor. They had five children. Mrs. Allyn died at the house of her son-in-law, Dr. Francis, in Watertown, in November, 1838, aged seventy-five years.

The following is a list of Dr. Allyn's published writings:—

A Sermon preached at the Ordination of Alden Bradford in the East Parish of Pownalborough, 1793; A Sermon preached on the Day of Public Thanksgiving, 1798; A Sermon preached at Hanover, entitled "The Flesh and the Spirit," 1799; A Sermon delivered at Plymouth on the Anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrims, 1801; A Sermon preached on Occasion of the General Election, 1805; A New Year's Sermon delivered at Duxbury, 1806, *Christian Monitor*, No. 1, 1806; A Sermon preached before the Academy at Sandwich, 1808; A Charge at the Ordination of Henry Ware, Jr., 1817; A Charge at the Ordination of Benjamin Kent as Associate Pastor with Dr. Allyn, in Duxbury, 1826. Dr. Allyn likewise published two very characteristic and striking obituary notices,—one of Dr. West, of New Bedford, and the other of Dr. Barnes, of Scituate.

Dr. Sprague derived his information about Dr. Allyn from the Rev. Convers Francis and from the article in Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, vol. v., Third Series.

DANIEL CLARKE SANDERS

1768–1850

Daniel Clarke Sanders, a son of Micah and Azubah (Clarke) Sanders, was born in Sturbridge, Mass., on the 3d of May, 1768. Both of his parents, as well as his grandparents, were natives of Medfield. His father having died in 1773, and his mother having married Captain Ebenezer Fisher, of Needham, he went thither to live in May, 1775, being then about seven years of age. He was prepared for college by the Rev. Samuel West, then pastor of the church in Needham, and afterwards of the Hollis Street Church, Boston. He graduated at Harvard in 1788, having assigned to him for his Commencement exercise the first Forensic Disputation. In his Autobiography, from which this sketch is chiefly derived, he has left the following record: "I recollect my father the evening before he died expressed a strong wish that I, his only son, might, if practicable, have a college education. This I never forgot. This intimation determined my literary course. There were not a few obstacles to overcome. I inherited want, and had not a friend to help me. When I left college, I owed a hundred dollars."

Immediately after his graduation he commenced teaching school in Watertown, but relinquished it after a few months to take charge of the grammar school in Cambridge, where he fitted nearly twenty boys for college. He occupied a room during this time in Hollis Hall, and devoted his leisure to the study of theology, being directed in his studies, partly at least, by the Rev.

Dr. Prentiss,* of Medfield, by whom also he was baptized and admitted to the communion in September, 1789. He was licensed to preach by the Dedham Association in 1790, and preached his first sermon in the pulpit at Medfield, of which he afterwards became the regular occupant. After leaving his school at Cambridge, and preaching for some time there, and occasionally at other places in the neighborhood, he accepted an invitation to preach to the Congregational church in Vergennes, Vt., the result of which was that on the 12th of June, 1794, he was ordained and installed as its pastor. Some time previous to this he was married to Nancy, daughter of Dr. Jabez Fitch, who had removed to Vergennes a short time before from Canterbury, Conn.

He continued in this charge about six years. Having taken a deep interest and had an important agency in the establishment of the then new institution, the University of Vermont, he was elected its first president, and entered into this service at Burlington in October, 1800. This responsible position he held during a period of fourteen years. In 1809 the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by Harvard College.

* Thomas Prentiss was the son of the Rev. Joshua Prentiss, of Holliston. He was born in 1747. He graduated at Harvard in 1766, and studied theology with his father. He was ordained minister at Medfield October 31, 1770, and was married the same day to Abigail Bigelow, of Weston. His wife died in 1786, and in 1789 he married Mercy, daughter of Dr. John Scollay, of Boston. He was a man of marked influence in the Congregational churches of his region, and served through a long and fruitful ministry of forty-four years, dying in 1814. It was during his ministry that his church, though remaining orthodox in fellowship, by insensible degrees became more and more liberal in spirit and convictions. Several of his pupils became Unitarian ministers, and his son Thomas, born in 1793 and graduating at Harvard in 1811, was the first settled minister of the Harvard Church in Charlestown, where he died in 1817.

In March, 1814, the exercises of the college were broken up by the war and the occupation of its buildings by the American troops. In this uncertain and perilous state of things Dr. Sanders and his family left Burlington, while the British flotilla were lying in the bay, ready, as was supposed, to make an attack on the town; and he spent the following summer in the city of New York.

In September following he went to Medfield, and was invited to occupy the pulpit in that town which had been vacated a few months before by the death of Dr. Prentiss. In due time he received and accepted a call, and was installed on the 24th of May, 1815, the sermon on the occasion being preached by himself from Romans xv. 29.

Dr. Sanders was elected for Medfield and Dover a member of the convention that revised the Constitution of Massachusetts, whose session continued from the 15th of November, 1820, to the 9th of January, 1821.

The relation between Dr. Sanders and his society was never materially disturbed until 1827, when some agitating questions between himself and his people produced a state of things which led him to propose a resignation of his charge. The parish acceded to his proposal in March, 1829, and on the 24th of May following the arrangement for his dismission, thus mutually entered into, was sanctioned by an ecclesiastical council. He continued however, to live at Medfield, and occasionally preached as a supply to vacant churches in the neighborhood. He was frequently chosen to represent the town in the General Court, and for many years served as chairman of the Board of Selectmen and of the School Committee.

Dr. Sanders died at Medfield, very suddenly, on the 18th of October, 1850, in the eighty-third year of his

age. His wife died just ten weeks before him. They had eight children,—two sons and six daughters.

The following account of Dr. Sanders is contained in a letter from the Rev. Eleazer Williams:—

"His personal appearance was decidedly prepossessing. He was rather above middling stature, with a well-formed and symmetrical person and a pleasing countenance. He was affable and courteous in his manners, conversed readily and fluently on every subject that came up, and seemed to be an accurate observer of passing events, in their bearings especially upon the great cause of civilization and humanity. He appeared to have a very thorough knowledge of history, and could refer to the past either of our own or other countries with great freedom and pertinence. I never heard him spoken of as a very thorough or profound scholar, though I think his attainments in all those branches that enter into a liberal education were at least highly respectable.

"Dr. Sanders was, I believe, naturally an impulsive man, and subject to frequent and great variations of feeling. In all my intercourse with him, so far as I remember, I never saw him otherwise than in good spirits; and yet I have heard that he was subject to occasional fits of deep depression. Indeed, if I mistake not, this latter tendency developed itself so much during the closing period of his life as to form one of his most distinctive characteristics.

"As a preacher, Dr. Sanders was decidedly among the most popular in the region in which he lived, and I may say in the State of Vermont. His fine person, his manly and agreeable voice and graceful gestures, gave great impressiveness to his utterances in the pulpit. His theology never seemed to me to have any very distinctive cast. The sermons which I heard him preach, so far as I remember, might have come from

a moderate orthodox man or a moderate Unitarian. But the prevailing impression was at that time, and I believe it was still stronger afterwards, that he adopted substantially the Arian creed."

The following is a list of Dr. Sanders's acknowledged publications:—

A Sermon before the Dorchester Lodge, 1792; A Sermon before the Dorchester Lodge, 1794; A Sermon on the Death of the Wife of Dr. Hoyt, New Haven, Vt., 1795; A Sermon on the Death of Martin Harmon, A.B., 1798; A Sermon before the Legislature of Vermont at the Annual Election, 1798; A Sermon occasioned by the Death of George Washington, 1799; A Sermon before the Washington Lodge, 1800; A Sermon on Slander, 1801; A Sermon on the Death of William Coit, Esq., 1802; A Sermon on the Death of Eldridge Packer, 1802; A Sermon on the Death of Mary Russell, Wife of David Russell, Esq., 1805; A Sermon on the Death of William H. Coit, Member of the Sophomore Class in the University of Vermont, 1807; A Charge to the Graduates of the University of Vermont, 1807; A Sermon on the Death of Mrs. Emily Jewett, 1809; A Sermon on the Death of Mr. Henry Lyman, Merchant of Montreal, 1809; A Sermon before the Washington Lodge, 1811; History of the Indians (anonymous), 320 pp., 12mo, 1812; A Sermon on the Death of Dr. Cassius Pomeroy and A. M. and E. Gilbert, Members of the Sophomore Class in the University of Vermont, 1813; An Address delivered in Sherburne, Mass., on the Return of Peace, 1815; A Sermon before the Auxiliary Society for Promoting Temperance, Wrentham, 1815; A Sermon before the Norfolk County Convention, Dedham, 1816; An Address on the Fourth of July, 1816; Charge at the Ordination of Joseph Allen, Northborough, 1816; A Sermon at the Artillery Election, Boston, 1817; A Sermon before the Washington Lodge in Roxbury, 1817; A Sermon at the Dedication of the Meeting-house in Medway, 1817; A Sermon on the History of Medfield, 1817; An Address on the Fourth of July at Walpole, —; An Address before the Norfolk County Bible Society, 1829; A Sermon at the Interment of the Rev. George Morey (who was born at Norton, December 29, 1749, graduated at Harvard in 1776, was settled as pastor of the church in Walpole, Mass., November 19, 1783, resigned on the 21st of May, 1826, and died July 26, 1829.)

Dr. Sprague's article was derived from Dr. Sanders's autobiography, which he left in manuscript, and from a communication from Mr. Robert Roberts.

THADDEUS MASON HARRIS

1768–1842

Thaddeus Mason Harris was a descendant, of the sixth generation, from William Harris, a barrister who came to this country at an early period, accompanied Roger Williams to Providence, was taken captive by the Algerines on his return to England, was redeemed for two hundred dollars, and died in London in 1680. His father, William Harris, born in 1744, was teacher of a school in Charlestown, where he built a small house, and married Rebeckah Mason, a daughter of Thaddeus Mason, of Cambridge, for many years clerk of the courts for Middlesex County. Here Thaddeus Mason Harris was born on the 7th of July, 1768.

Just before the battle of Bunker Hill Wm. Harris fled from Charlestown with his family, in the hope that they might somewhere find a refuge from the threatening danger. With a few necessary articles of clothing, such as they could carry in their hands, they set out on foot, Thaddeus, then not quite seven years old, leading his twin sisters next in age to himself, the father and mother each carrying a child, and an aged grandmother also making one of the company. They spent the first night at Lexington with a relative; and found there an empty wagon about leaving, in which they bespoke a passage to any place to which the owner was bound. Accordingly, they were carried to Chookset, a part of Sterling, where Mr. Harris took a small house, and supported his family by keeping a district school. During the battle of Bunker Hill Charlestown was laid in ashes, and the Harris house, with

whatever of its contents remained, went with the rest. Shortly after this Mr. Harris joined the army as captain and paymaster, and on a visit to his family died of a fever, October 30, 1778, aged thirty-four years.

Thaddeus then went to live with a farmer by the name of Haughton. Here he went to school with the farmer's children; and, as they lived at some distance from school, he used to be furnished with dinner to stay at noon, which he invariably carried to his mother, depending on his schoolmates to supply his own wants. As soon as the family with which he lived discovered this, they generously made such provision for the Harrises as kept them from want. After having resided a short time at Westminster, and afterwards at Templeton, he went back in the latter part of the year 1779 to Chookset, and was soon introduced into the family of Dr. Ebenezer Morse, of Boylston, who had been obliged to leave the ministry on suspicion of Toryism, and was supporting his family by the practice of medicine and by fitting young men for college. This good man kindly assisted him to go through the preparatory course for college with his own son. While here, young Harris did something for his own support by different kinds of manual labor.

In July, 1782, he went to visit his mother, who in the mean time had married Samuel Wait, of Malden, and informed her that he was fitted for college by Dr. Morse, who had advised him to enter at Cambridge, trusting to his working his way through college. She, however, disapproved of such a course, and at once put him to learn a mechanical trade; but, in consequence of an accident that happened to him, he was obliged to leave the place, and went to work in his grandfather Mason's office with the intention of becoming a merchant. With a view to qualify himself

for this occupation, he contracted with his grandfather to pay for his board by writing, and went to a school in Cambridge kept by Samuel Kendal, afterwards the Rev. Dr. Kendal, of Weston. Finding him an apt scholar, his teacher strongly urged his taking a collegiate course, and he entered Harvard in July, 1783.

In March, 1786, his Junior year, his mother came to his room in college to examine his wardrobe. Finding it very destitute, she proposed to take the money which he had earned by writing for his grandfather, and purchase some necessary articles of clothing. Arrangements were accordingly made that he should obtain his dues from his grandfather, meet his mother on a certain day at Charlestown, and accompany her to Boston. But he neglected to call on his grandfather for the money till the morning of the appointed day, when he found he was out of town. He tried in vain to borrow what he needed, and started for Charlestown with a heavy heart. On his way he cut a stick for a cane, and, as he was passing Charlestown Neck, he perceived something at the end of his stick, which he in vain attempted to shake off. On examining it, he found that it was some kind of metal. Without much thought he put it into his pocket. On crossing the ferry, as he was leaning on the side of the boat, the thing in his pocket hurt him. He took it out, and found that it had become bright by friction. He carried it to a goldsmith, who, cutting it open, pronounced it to be gold, and showed him the motto, which was, "God speed thee, friend," and added, "Here are two dollars for you, sir, which is the worth of the ring." This affected the young man to tears; for he felt that Providence was rebuking him for his despondence and fretfulness, and was providing for him in a way which ought to excite his warmest gratitude. The goldsmith, finding him so much affected,

added another dollar. Mr. Harris then hastened to his mother with the joyful news; and she at once resolved to call upon the goldsmith and inspect the ring. On seeing it, she also wept, whereupon the goldsmith added three dollars more, making six dollars in all. This was amply sufficient for the present supply of his necessities.

He graduated in July, 1787, at the age of nineteen, and delivered a poem at Commencement, which attracted no small attention, insomuch that Dr. Belknap and Dr. Thacher unitedly solicited a copy for publication in the *Columbian Magazine* at Philadelphia. This request, however, he declined. On leaving college, he taught school for a year at Worcester, and at the end of that time was applied to to become General Washington's private secretary. He had consented to serve; but, in consequence of taking the small-pox, he was prevented from entering at once on the duties of the place, and it was filled by Tobias Lear.

After studying theology awhile with the Rev. Samuel Kendal, of Weston, he went, by advice of President Willard, to Cambridge, to continue his studies there. He was soon appointed sub-librarian, and in 1791, librarian, of the University. He received approbation to preach from the Cambridge Association in June, 1789, a little before he was twenty-one years of age. After preaching in several of the neighboring parishes, he accepted a call from the church in Dorchester, where he was ordained, October 23, 1793.

Mr. Harris was married on the 28th of January, 1795, to Mary, only daughter of Dr. Elijah and Dorothy (Lynde) Dix, of Worcester, Mass. They had eight children,—five sons and three daughters.

Being appointed one of the administrators of the estate of his wife's father, he was obliged to make a voyage to England on business relating to the settlement of

this estate. He improved the opportunity to visit various parts of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, leaving New York for the voyage, August 7, 1810, and returning there again, May 13, 1811, after an absence of about nine months.

Until 1804 Mr. Harris's pastoral charge included the entire town, which then comprehended the whole of what is now called South Boston. He was truly "in labors more abundant," writing more sermons than almost any of his brethren; more prolific in publications of various kinds than almost any contemporary divine; making frequent visits to the University, of which during his whole pastorate he was an overseer; arranging its library, and presenting nearly every year an elaborate report. He spent much time also in superintending the common schools, and performed the laborious task of arranging Washington's papers, in one hundred and thirty-two volumes, and aiding Mr. Sparks, by copious indexes and notes, in preparing them for publication.

The secret of his accomplishing so much was his untiring industry, and a perfectly methodical arrangement of his time. He was an early riser, and had a time for everything and took care that everything was done in its time. He was so remarkable for punctuality to his engagements that no instance can be recollected in which he was at any place of meeting, where his duty required him to be, one moment after the appointed hour.

An alarming attack of illness in the winter of 1832–33 made it necessary for him to seek the influence of a Southern climate during the following winter. He embarked at Boston for South Carolina, December, 1833, arrived at Charleston, passed some time there and at Savannah and Augusta, where he occasionally preached, and returned from Charleston, and reached

home May 31, 1834. During his visit to Savannah he became interested in the life and labors of General Oglethorpe, and collected some materials for a biographical and historical account, which was published at Boston in May, 1841.

Mr. Nathaniel Hall * was ordained his colleague on the 16th of July, 1835, when Dr. Harris was sixty-seven years of age. But this measure was altogether of his own choice, not a single member of his parish having so much as intimated even the expediency of it. So also, when he sought the dissolution of his pastoral relation, it was not only without the desire, but in spite of the remonstrances, of all who took an active part in the concerns of the parish. A dismission was granted him, at his own earnest request, in October, 1836, when he had been settled just forty-three years.

Dr. Harris died at Dorchester in 1842. His funeral was attended in the meeting-house on the afternoon of the 7th of April, 1842, the day of the annual fast.

Dr. Harris was an early member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and, after the close of his ministry became its librarian. He was a member of the Humane Society, of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, of the Massachusetts Bible Society, of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, of the American Antiquarian Society, of the American Peace Society, vice-president of the Congregational Charitable Society, overseer of Harvard University during his ministry, member of the Horticultural Society, corresponding member of the Georgia Historical Society, and of the Archæological Society in Athens, Greece.

Of his personality and his theology his successor, Dr. Hall, wrote:—

"His feelings, I believe, always, and towards all men,

* See Vol. III. p. 154.

were compassionate and kind; his dispositions prevailingly benevolent. Nature, in this respect, had done much for him; but grace had heightened and crowned her earlier work. He cherished no enmities. He seemed not to harbor a particle of ill-will to a single soul. He wished to make every one happy. These dispositions entered into and characterized his public services. In them he did not 'strive,' but was 'gentle towards all men.' His instructions were tender and affectionate rather than bold and discriminating. He was inclined, not only by nature, but, doubtless, also, by what he deemed a wise expediency, to draw men rather than to drive, to beseech them by the mercies of God rather than to affright them by his terrors.

"His preaching was simple and practical rather than speculative and metaphysical, that spirit of inquiry and investigation, now so prevalent, which passes beyond the letter of Revelation, and would know of the principles and philosophy of things, not having arisen within the term of his active ministry, and not putting upon him, therefore, its requirements. Amidst the fierce controversy concerning the doctrines of Scripture which sprang up in our churches during the latter half of his ministry, his course was liberal and pacific. He sought not to make his people learned or skilful in the polemics of sects, but rather to present and urge upon them what he believed to be 'pure and undefiled religion.' He had no love of disputation. He could not bandy contentious words. His heart was strung to a gentle harmony, and there could never be stricken from it the harsh tones of a sectarian zeal. He studied 'the things that make for peace.' He desired to lead his flock 'beside the still waters,' and to guard it from the strifes and dissensions which have torn and weakened so many churches. He sought to keep it a united flock; and it was such. He was free from all

unworthy narrowness and exclusiveness. He cared but little for names and parties and creeds."

Under such guidance the Dorchester parish suffered no divisions, but almost insensibly found itself in the liberal wing of the Congregational body.

Besides the works already referred to, Dr. Harris published the following: A New Year's Sermon, 1796; A Sermon at the Ordination of John Pierce, 1797; A Sermon on Occasion of the National Fast, 1798; A Century Sermon addressed particularly to a Religious Society of Young Men, 1798; A Sermon on the Death of Washington, 1799; A Sermon on the Death of the Author's Mother, 1801; A Sermon preached at Dedham on the day after the Execution of Jason Fairbanks, 1801; Twelve Masonic Discourses, with Several Charges, etc., 1801, 8vo; A Sermon at the Installation of the Rev. Abiel Abbot, Beverly, 1803; A Sermon on the Death of Deacon Abijah White, 1804; The Artillery Election Sermon, 1805; A Sermon before the Massachusetts Humane Society, 1806; A Sermon at the Dedication of the South Meeting-house, Dorchester, 1806; A Sermon at the Ordination of C. H. Shearman, 1807; A Sermon before the Union Lodge, Dorchester, 1807; A Sermon at the Ordination of Enoch Pratt, 1807; A Thanksgiving Sermon, 1807; Three Sermons addressed to the Second Church in Dorchester, 1807; A Sermon preached at Plymouth on the Anniversary of the Landing of the Fathers, 1808; A Sermon preached at the Ordination of Samuel Osgood at Springfield, 1809; Tribute of Respect to the Memory of the Hon. James Bowdoin, 1811; A Sermon against Suicide, 1812; A Sermon on Sensibility, 1812; A Sermon on the Death of Ebenezer Wales, Esq., 1813; A Discourse at the Funeral of Moses Everett, Esq., 1813; A Sermon before the Boston Female Asylum, 1813; A Sermon at the Ordination of Ephraim Randall, 1814; A Sermon at the Ordination of Lemuel Capen, 1815; Pray for the Jews: Thursday Lecture at Boston, 1816; Two Sermons, one on Leaving the Old Church, the other on Entering the New One at Dorchester, 1816; A Sermon on the Death of Nathaniel Topliff, 1819; A Sermon before the Society for Propagating the Gospel, 1823; A Centennial Discourse, 1830; A Farewell Sermon, 1836. Among his miscellaneous publications were: Triumphs of Superstition: An Elegy, 1790; A System of Punctuation, 1797; An Address on Occasion of the Drowning of Three Persons, 1803; History of Dorchester, 1804; An Address before the Washington Benevolent Society, 1813; Happy Death of a Child, 1815; A Textuary for Preachers, 1818; Serious Soliloquies, 1819; Biography of Father Rasles (Mass. Hist. Coll.); An Address at the Installation of the Union Lodge, Dorchester, 1824; An Account of the Old Book of Records, 1834. Of compilations and abridgments he printed Constitution of the Masons, 1792, 1798; *Massachusetts Magazine*, edited by him, 1795, 1796; Beauties of Nature, by Sturm, 1800, 1801; Hymns for the Lord's Supper, 1801–1820; Zollikoffer's Exercises of Piety, 1803, 1807; Minor Encyclopædia, 4 volumes, 1803; Sephora, a Hebrew Tale, 1835.

This sketch of Dr. Harris is chiefly derived from a letter sent to Dr. Sprague by Dr. John Pierce, of Brookline.

ABIEL ABBOT (OF BEVERLY)

1770–1828

Abiel Abbot was born in Andover, Mass., August 17, 1770. He was a son of John and Abigail Abbot, and, with the exception of one who died in infancy, the youngest of their children. His parents were persons of excellent character, and his mother especially is said to have been remarkable alike for good sense and piety. At the age of fourteen he had a severe illness, which left him with the vigor of his constitution considerably impaired; and this was one of the circumstances which led his parents to gratify his wish for a liberal education. Accordingly, he became a member of Phillips Academy at Andover, where he at once took a high stand among his fellow-students, and where, as in after life, he was particularly distinguished for a popular and graceful style of elocution.

He graduated at Harvard in 1792. Soon after he graduated he became an assistant teacher at Phillips Academy, Exeter, where he continued till August, 1793. He subsequently occupied the place of principal of Phillips Academy, Andover, and at the same time, pursued his theological studies under the direction of the Rev. Jonathan French. He began preaching in Haverhill in November, 1794, and in February following received a unanimous invitation to become their pastor. He was ordained on the 3d of June, 1795, his pastor and theological teacher, Mr. French, preaching the sermon. In 1796 he was married to Eunice, eldest daughter of Ebenezer Wales, Esq., of Dorchester, a lady of great sweetness and excellence of character.

In May, 1803, he resigned his pastoral charge at Haverhill, and in the summer of this year he received a call from the First Parish in Beverly, then recently rendered vacant by the election of Dr. McKeen to the presidency of Bowdoin College. He accepted the call, and was installed the following winter (December 13, 1803), the sermon on the occasion being preached by his friend, the Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris, of Dorchester. His health at this period was so much enfeebled that, when he preached his first sermon, he did it under the impression that it might prove to be his last. His text on the occasion was, "We all do fade as a leaf."

In August, 1804, he wrote: "My labors have been apparently blessed more than in any former period. The serious of the society have expressed to me their joy and gratulation: the whole assembly appears more solemn and attentive and full than formerly." In February, 1805, he wrote, "The additions to the church in less than a year have been nearly fifty; and they seem to adorn their profession."

The demand for extra services in his congregation at this period seemed to impose upon him the necessity of speaking more or less without writing; and he had a natural talent at this, which rendered it alike easy to himself and agreeable to his hearers. In March, 1806, he began a course of unwritten lectures in the town hall, "designed," to use his own language, "to show the history and doctrines of Christ in connection, and to enforce them in a practical and pathetic rather than in a learned and theoretical, manner." These services attracted very large audiences. At this period he was in the habit of exchanging with ministers denominated "Orthodox," who, though they were aware that his religious views were not all in accordance with their own, yet considered him as holding so many

doctrines in common with themselves as to justify fellowship. Subsequently, however, a change in this respect gradually took place, and he became more and more identified with the liberal wing.

Early in the year 1818 his health sensibly declined. He was advised by his physicians to resort to a milder climate; and, he sailed from Boston for Charleston, S.C., on the 28th of October. At Charleston he supplied the pulpits of several churches of different denominational connections. Having remained there about two months, he accepted an invitation to pass some time in the family of James Legare, Esq., on John's Island. On his return he engaged in his professional labors with as much earnestness, and apparently as much physical energy, as at any preceding period of his life.

His services were often put in requisition on important public occasions. In 1802 he delivered the Artillery Election Sermon at Boston, and in 1809 he preached the anniversary discourse at Plymouth on the landing of the Pilgrims,—an occasion congenial with both his taste and his talents, as the sermon itself proved. In 1818 he gave the Dudleian Lecture at Cambridge; in 1823, the annual sermon before the Society for Promoting Theological Education in Harvard University; and, in 1827, the annual sermon before the Convention of Congregational Ministers in Massachusetts. In 1821 he was honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard College.

In the autumn of 1827 his former disease returned upon him, and with still more threatening aspect. He, however, retained his accustomed equanimity of spirit, and in a letter of September 21 he writes thus: "For one thing I cannot be sufficiently thankful,—my bad nerves inspire no gloom. In no period of my life have I enjoyed so much tranquillity, peace, nay, let me say

it, joy, religious joy, as in the last two or three months. In the review of my life the goodness of God appears wonderful to me. My course, as far as Providence is concerned, from childhood seems a path of light, without a cloud of darkness,—an unvaried scene of mercy." It became apparent that he could not with safety encounter the severity of a northern winter, and accordingly, on the 28th of October, he again embarked for Charleston, S.C. Having remained there a few weeks, he went again to visit the family on John's Island, where he had previously met so hospitable a welcome, and in this delightful retreat he passed a month, when, in consequence of a change in the season, he determined to go to Cuba. He spent a few weeks in Matanzas and its vicinity, and embarked from Havana on the 26th of May for Charleston. He arrived on Saturday, the 31st of May; and, finding that a packet was to sail for New York on Monday following, he immediately resolved to take passage in it. On Sunday morning he attended the Archdale Street Church, and heard the Rev. Mr. Gilman preach, and in the afternoon delivered an extemporaneous discourse himself, with great animation and interest, from the words, "God said, Let there be light," the design of which was to contrast the spiritual darkness of the region he had just left behind with the glorious light with which our own country is favored. On Monday he embarked in the "Othello" for New York; and on the second day of the passage he was taken ill. Being asked by one of the passengers if he felt alarmed, he replied, "No, I am in the hands of God, and I trust he will take care of me." But scarcely had these words passed from his lips before it was perceived that death had done its work. His remains were interred on Staten Island, the funeral service being performed by the Rev. Mr. Miller, of the Reformed Dutch Church.

The tidings of his death produced the deepest sensation at Beverly, where a funeral discourse was delivered by the Rev. Dr. Flint, of Salem, which was afterwards published.

The Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, who was brought up in the Beverly parish, wrote:—

"I always think of Dr. Abbot as pre-eminently distinguished by his native and acquired endowments for the office of a parish minister. His peculiar felicities of manner, mind, and character, were all such as came into constant exercise in his profession, while his deficiencies were such as could not interfere with his acceptance and usefulness in his own appropriate sphere. An utter stranger could not have been five minutes in his society without being impressed with the blended dignity and suavity of his countenance and manner. His face seemed incapable of austerity or sternness, yet the smile which never left his features, never settled upon them, but by its incessant and luminous play, indicated the constant activity of the kindest sentiments and emotions. At the same time there was a sort of solemnity pervading his every look and utterance, which checked the remotest approach to levity in his presence, and made one feel that he never laid aside the consciousness of his sacred calling. His conversational powers were singularly rich and attractive. In a social circle, without exacting, he always engrossed attention. In a well-filled parlor, when he was present, the separate groups would gradually dissolve themselves, and the tête-à-tête conversations would cease, and the whole company would remain delighted listeners. On such occasions, though religious subjects were never obtruded, yet it was impossible for him to tell an anecdote, describe an adventure, or discourse on a topic of history or science, without dropping some hint, suggestive of Providence,

duty, or accountableness. Had I his skill, or, more properly speaking, his unartificial tact, of communicating religious thought and impulse indirectly, I should deem it the part of wisdom in me almost never to assume in private the form of direct address on religious themes. He had travelled much, and with open eyes and heart; and, as I have since viewed many of the scenes which I have heard him describe, my sentiments of beauty, awe, and adoration have hardly been more vivid than when his description made me familiar with them in my boyhood.

"His social sympathies were quick and tender. Though in a parish three times as large as most of our large New England parishes are now, he could, by the most assiduous pastoral visiting, spend but little time with the individual members of his flock, they all felt that they were borne on his heart in all their joys and sorrows, nor was there a single family which did not deem him virtually one of themselves. The sick and dying, the afflicted, poor, solitary, and aged, occupied the greater part of his time; but those in health and prosperity, though they seldom saw him except by their express invitation, never felt themselves neglected.

"The children of his flock were peculiarly dear to him. He knew them all by name, and never passed one of them without a kind word. He took great interest in the public schools, attended all their examinations as chairman of the School Committee, almost uniformly addressed them, and sore was the disappointment when, from courtesy, he devolved that office upon another. I well remember his public 'catechizings' before the formation of our parish Sunday-school, and (contrary to the usual testimony with regard to these exercises) they were gladly and eagerly thronged, and I doubt whether parental authority was ever employed to coerce attendance.

"His home was happy. His house proffered unstinted hospitality, and seldom was without guests from abroad, while all classes of his parishioners found an open and cordial welcome there. My intimacy with his younger children led me to resort thither in season and out of season, yet never out of season; for I was never happier than when a call a little too early in the morning brought me into the circle at the hour of family prayer. At this season the fine parlor organ was always put in requisition, and a hymn appropriate either to the season or to the Scripture lesson of the morning was read and sung, he himself taking the lead in a voice of great compass and power, and joined by at least five or six voices from his own domestic choir; then followed the prayer, which always seemed the outpouring of a heart so full of gratitude for the blessings and joys of a Christian home as hardly to find scope for petition. And the spirit of the morning prayer seemed to rest on the whole family through the day, in contentment, cheerful activity, unruffled harmony, and overflowing kindness, rendering a day's life under their roof a beautiful commentary on that precious text of Saint Paul, 'The church that is in thy house.'

"As a preacher, Dr. Abbot was at once calm and fervent, never dull, seldom impassioned. His utterance was distinct and deliberate, and the modulations of his voice natural and graceful. His subjects were almost always of the class denominated evangelical, but his texts were full as often from the Old Testament as from the New; and he was peculiarly fond both of tracing the gospel in its types and foreshadowings, and of engrafting gospel lessons on striking passages of Jewish biography and history. He preached a great many expository sermons, to the composition of which he brought the best scholarship of his day, together with the workings of a mind ready to find gold and

diamonds beneath the surface of all Scripture. Perhaps his greatest merit as a preacher was the uniform adaptation of his sermons to time, place, and circumstances. There always seemed some reason why each sermon should be preached then and there.

"His devotional services were peculiarly interesting and impressive. In them he took distinct cognizance of all events of public and general interest, and of whatever events in the town or parish could, by any possibility, find place in an exercise of social devotion, and all this without ever offering what has been termed a gossiping prayer. So far from letting down the dignity of the service by this minuteness, he, on the other hand, elevated and sanctified even trivial incidents by the sustained dignity and fervor with which he spread out before the Most High in thanksgiving or supplication the blessings, sorrows, and needs of individuals or the community. During his whole lifetime, and no doubt in great part on account of the unfailing edification derived from his style of public prayer, his people retained the habit of sending in notes, not only on the death of friends, but in sickness, on the birth of children, when bound to sea, or on their return from voyages, however brief. I counted on one occasion seventeen of these notes. He seldom grouped them, and, when he did, he always individualized cases of special interest. On most occasions he referred to each case by itself, generally from memory, though he sometimes placed the entire pile of notes on the pulpit cushion, and glanced his eye at them successively. And such was the copiousness and unstudied variety of his devotional language that he never seemed to repeat himself, and these numerous details only added to the richness, beauty, and fervor of his prayers.

"I have heard it said that Dr. Abbot concealed his theological opinions, and practised a temporizing policy

with regard to the points at issue between the two great parties into which the Congregational body was divided. I am able to say, from very distinct remembrance, that there was no ground for this charge. Indeed, I had no more doubt of the views of Christian doctrine which he entertained than I have of those which I have been accustomed to recognize in my own preaching. He was a high Arian; and when, after his death, I first read Dr. Price's 'Sermons on Christian Doctrine,' I thought that I could recognize almost precisely the form of belief which I had been accustomed to hear set forth by our pastor.

"There were no doubt several circumstances that served to give color to the charge of concealment to which I have referred. Among them was the fact that nearly half his congregation consisted of Trinitarian Calvinists, who left the parish before or shortly after the settlement of his successor.* I think that all, and know that many, of these were fully aware how far his theological opinions differed from theirs; but I know also how strong and intimate was their attachment to his person and character, so as to render the disruption of the parish absolutely impossible while he lived, though it had long been regarded as inevitable whenever he should be removed.

"Then, too, there was an important point in which his sympathies were sincerely enlisted with the Calvinistic portion of the church. He had great confidence

* Dr. Abbot was succeeded by CHRISTOPHER TOPPAN THAYER, who was born at Lancaster, a son of the Rev. Nathaniel Thayer, June 5, 1805. He graduated from Harvard College in 1824, and from the Divinity School in 1827. Three years later he was settled as the minister of the First Parish in Beverly, where he served for twenty-eight years. He was much interested in town affairs, was chairman of the School Committee for many years, and delivered the oration at the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of the town. He died in Boston, June 23, 1880.

in 'revival measures,' and at two, if not three, different periods of his ministry employed the usual means of extra services and inquiry meetings; and these measures, though he regarded and represented them as the result of his own independent judgment and deliberate choice, may have subjected him to the imputation of seeking to identify himself with a portion of the church other than that to which he belonged by his theological sympathies.

"He was also earnestly solicitous to unite the divided portions of the Christian body. He loved to dwell on points of agreement rather than difference. He made every possible concession for the sake of peace. He sincerely loved good men of every name, and was desirous of conciliating their reciprocal esteem and affection. Those not of his flock might easily have supposed that these pacific expressions and overtures were made at the expense of entire frankness and explicitness as to his own views; but, with those who statedly listened to his preaching, he left no room for this suspicion."

The following is a list of Dr. Abbot's publications: Memorial of Divine Benefits, 1798; Traits of Resemblance in the People of the United States of America to Ancient Israel, Haverhill, 1799; Eulogy on the Life and Character of Washington, 1800; The Duty of Youth, a sermon occasioned by the death of Mrs. Sarah Ayer, of Haverhill, 1802; Self-preservation, a sermon preached before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in Boston, 1802; The Mariner's Manual, Beverly, 1804; Introductory Address at the Ordination of the Rev. David T. Kimball, in Ipswich, 1806; A Discourse delivered before the Portsmouth Female Asylum, 1807; A Discourse delivered at Plymouth at the Celebration of the 188th Anniversary of the Landing of our Forefathers, 1809; A Father's Reasons for Baptizing his Infant Child, Beverly, 1812; Sermons to Mariners (a duodecimo volume), 1812; An Address before the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance, 1815; A Discourse before the Missionary Society of Salem, 1816; A Discourse delivered before the Bible Society of Salem, 1817; The Parent's Assistant and Sunday-school Book, 1822; Charge at the Ordination of the Rev. B. Whitman, 1826; Address before the Berry Street Conference, 1826; Ecclesiastical Peace Recommended, a discourse before the Convention of Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts, 1827; The Example of the First Preachers of the Gospel Considered, a sermon at the installation of the Rev. Abiel Abbot in the Congregational Church in Peterborough, N.H., 1827; Letters Written in the Interior of Cuba, 1828 (an octavo volume); A Second Volume of Sermons, edited, with a memoir, from which this sketch is derived, by his son-in-law, Rev. S. Everett. in 1831.

JOHN PIERCE

1773–1849

John Pierce, a son of John and Sarah (Blake) Pierce, was born in Dorchester, Mass., July 14, 1773, being the eldest of ten children. His father, who was a shoemaker and an intelligent, excellent man, died in December, 1833, at the age of ninety-one. From his earliest years he had a strong desire to go to college and to become a minister. He graduated at Harvard in 1793, having sustained during his whole course an excellent reputation as a scholar. He received at his graduation one of the highest honors in his class,—the second English oration, the first being assigned to Charles Jackson, afterwards judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts; and on taking his second degree, in 1796, he pronounced the Latin valedictory oration.

After leaving college, he was for two years assistant preceptor of the academy in Leicester, Mass. In the summer of 1795 he began the study of theology with the Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris, then recently settled in Dorchester. He was examined and approved by the Boston Association February 22, 1796, and preached for the first time in his native town on the 6th of March following. For four months he held a tutorship in Harvard College, and then received a call from the First Church and Society in Brookline, as the successor of the Rev. Joseph Jackson. This call he accepted, and was ordained and installed March 15, 1797, the sermon on the occasion being preached by Mr. Harris.

On the 31st of October, 1798, Mr. Pierce was married to Abigail Lovell, of Medway, who had been one of his pupils at the Leicester Academy. She died on the 2d of July, 1800, leaving an infant son, who died at the age of about two years. He was married a second time on the 6th of May, 1802, to Lucy, daughter of Benjamin Tappan, of Northampton, and niece of the Rev. Dr. Tappan, at that time Professor of Divinity in Harvard College. They had ten children, all but one of whom, with their mother, survived their father. Mrs. Pierce died February 12, 1858.

In 1822 the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by Harvard College.

Doctor Pierce continued sole pastor of the church for half a century. The 15th of March, 1847, being the semi-centennial anniversary of his ordination, was observed as a jubilee commemorative of that event,—an occasion which drew together large numbers of various denominations. In October of the same year Mr. Frederick N. Knapp * was ordained as his colleague.

* Frederick Newman Knapp was born in Jamaica Plain, November 19, 1821. The family soon moved to Walpole, N.H., which became the family home. Mr. Knapp graduated at Harvard in 1843 and at the Divinity School in 1847, and was at once settled as Dr. Pierce's colleague and successor. A severe accident which confined him for many months to his father's house in Walpole, obliged him to withdraw in 1855 from that happy service. At the breaking out of the Civil War he was summoned by Dr. Bellows into the work of the Sanitary Commission, and there rendered a very remarkable service. He was second to none in upbuilding the efficiency of the commission, and is remembered to-day by thousands of survivors from the battle-fields and hospitals as their most cherished friend and helper. After the war he preached for a time at Yonkers, N.Y., and for five years was minister of the First Parish in Plymouth, Mass., where he engaged in keeping a home school for boys, which was very successful. He also acted as chairman of the School Committee of the town, and he was the only honorary member of the Grand Army of the Republic. He died suddenly at Plymouth, January 12, 1889.

Dr. Pierce at first admitted the idea of receiving a colleague with some reluctance, yet, when brought to believe that the interests of his parish would be promoted by such a measure, he cheerfully acquiesced in it, and Mr. Knapp was in every respect the person of his choice. From this period, though relieved in a great measure from the care of his own pulpit, his services were often offered to his brethren in the neighborhood, and his attendance at all public meetings was as regular and prompt as ever.

About the beginning of March, 1849, his physical energies seemed suddenly to fail, and from that time his decline was gradual, but constant. Just six days before his death an organ was placed in the new church at Brookline. The doctor, being too feeble either to walk or ride, was carried to the church in a chair by some of his young friends, that he might share the pleasure of the occasion. He was able to read passages from the Scriptures and to join with much of his accustomed animation in singing his favorite "Old Hundred." When the hymn was sung, all the assembly rose, except the doctor, who remarked with his usually cheerful air that he no longer belonged to the rising generation. He died on August 24, 1849. The funeral sermon was preached by his colleague, Mr. Knapp.

In his theological connections Dr. Pierce refused to be classed with any sect or party. He would bear no names save "Christian" and "Congregationalist." If he stated his belief, it was always in Bible phraseology. He never preached controversial and seldom doctrinal sermons, yet his church became decidedly Unitarian, and he, against his will, was more and more forced to consort chiefly with the liberal preachers.

Dr. Pierce was identified with many of the philanthropic and useful enterprises of his day. He was for fifty-two years a member of the Massachusetts Con-

vention of Congregational Ministers, and for ten years its scribe. For thirty years he belonged to the Massachusetts Congregational Society. For thirty-three years he was secretary to the Board of Overseers of Harvard College. He was for several years president of the Massachusetts Bible Society. To the interests of the Massachusetts Historical Society he was enthusiastically devoted, and bequeathed to it a series of eighteen quarto manuscript volumes of six hundred pages each, containing his journal, reaching back almost to the beginning of the century, in which he recorded all the principal facts that came within his observation. These volumes he calls "Memoirs and Memorabilia," and they contain a vast amount of information, especially concerning distinguished individuals, that must otherwise have perished. Besides these he gave to the Historical Society what approaches more nearly to a complete set of the Massachusetts Election Sermons than is elsewhere to be found. He was a zealous friend of the temperance cause, and endeavored by both precept and example, in public and in private, to help it forward to the extent of his ability. He delivered the Artillery Election Sermon in 1813, the Dudleian Lecture at Harvard College in 1821, the sermon before the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers in 1825, and the annual sermon before the legislature of Massachusetts in 1849.

Dr. Pierce enjoyed, almost uniformly, through life remarkable health, as was evidenced by the fact that during his long ministry he was kept from his pulpit only thirteen Sabbaths. In the spring of 1805 he was confined by a rheumatic fever for several weeks, and it was a somewhat singular coincidence that his friend, the celebrated Joseph Stevens Buckminster, was ill at the time, both returned to their pulpits the same day, and both preached from the same text,—Psalm cxix. 71.

He was habitually an early riser, and he occupied himself in the summer, for an hour or two before breakfast, in his garden, and in the winter, for about the same length of time, in sawing and splitting wood. He was accustomed to walk long distances, and not unfrequently made his exchanges, six or seven miles distant, on foot, going and returning, and preaching all the same day. He was frugal in his style of living, and yet always hospitable; and though his salary was originally small, and was never large, he not only contrived to keep out of debt, but to acquire considerable property. It was evident, however, that he did not covet a large estate; and when, in one instance, by an unfortunate investment he was well-nigh reduced to bankruptcy, his wonted cheerfulness never forsook him for an hour. He was passionately fond of music, and on various public occasions, such as the Thursday Lecture, the Commencement dinner at Cambridge, and the Annual Convention of Ministers, his fine, mellow voice was sure to be heard. During his last illness scarcely anything gratified him more than the weekly visits to the parsonage, on Saturday evenings, of the choir of his church, whom he used to call his "Sweet Psalmists of Israel."

Dr. Pierce was a most devoted friend to Harvard College. He used to say that, when he was a school-boy, he used sometimes to take Cambridge on his way from Boston to Dorchester, thus nearly tripling the distance, for the sake of looking at the college buildings. He attended sixty-three successive Commencements, with the exception of one, which occurred on the day of the funeral of his mother, and for fifty-four successive years he "set the tune" of "St. Martin's" for the hymn sung at the Commencement dinner. For fifty years he served as an overseer, was never absent from a meeting. For thirty-three years he kept the records of the board

with the most perfect neatness and accuracy, and was a model of punctuality and fidelity in the discharge of all his official duties.

As a matter-of-fact man, it may be doubted whether Dr. Pierce had any equal among his contemporaries. There was scarcely anybody's father or grandfather, of the least notoriety, of whose history he could not tell something, including particularly the dates of his birth, graduation (if graduated), and death. The whole Harvard catalogue he seemed to carry in his mind, and he could tell instantly who was the valedictory orator, and what was his subject, in every class that had graduated since he began to attend Commencement. When on a certain occasion it was very desirable to ascertain the date of the birth of an individual, and Dr. Pierce was appealed to as a last resort, and appealed to in vain, Judge Davis shrewdly remarked, "There is no use in making any further inquiries, for, if the doctor does not know when the man was born, he was not born at all."

Dr. A. P. Peabody speaks of Dr. Pierce's habit of counting everything and timing everything: "He always knew on Sunday how many people were at church. He could tell how many houses there were on every street and road in Brookline, and how many dwellers there were in every house. He kept note of the length of every sermon, address, Commencement part, or other public performance that he heard. He was easily moved to tears, and did not hide them; but, while they were raining down his cheeks at the moving close of an eloquent discourse, he would take out his great silver watch, and say in broken accents to the person sitting nearest to him, 'Just fifty minutes' or 'Ten minutes over the hour.'

"Dr. Pierce's memory was amazing. Few old men have forgotten as many things as he remembered to

the last. It is related of Hortensius, Cicero's rival, that he once, on a wager, attended for a whole day an auction sale of miscellaneous articles, and rehearsed at the close, in their order, the articles sold, the prices paid, and the names of the purchasers. I think that Dr. Pierce would have attended such a sale for six successive days, and have made an accurate report of every transaction. He remembered things of importance, everything that he had ever read or heard, and where; and, as for the Bible, the chapters of names are probably the only parts which he could not have repeated word for word. He knew the ancestry, age, and birthdays of all his friends; the professional history, with its dates and details, of every clergyman of any denomination whatsoever within the large range of his acquaintance; and the life record of every Harvard graduate, from his own time downward, who was not too insignificant to have a history."

The following letter from the Rev. George Putnam gives an excellent description of his mind and character:—

"Any person attending the funeral of Dr. Pierce must have seen that he was a man of mark whom they were burying. There was a great concourse of people thronging with reverent and tender emotions around his coffin, and among them many men of eminent character and station. It was evident from many signs that those were not the obsequies of an ordinary man or a mere official man. And those signs were not fallacious. He was a distinguished man. I suppose that there was hardly a man in Massachusetts whose person was known to so many individuals in the State. It is seldom that so many and hearty expressions of affectionate respect, from so many quarters, follow an old man to his grave.

"And how came he to be thus distinguished? It

may seem a question of some difficulty, but I will try to answer it.

"Born in Dorchester, he just moved over to that pleasant parsonage,—only going round by Cambridge for purposes of education; and there he dwelt for more than fifty years, and there he died. During that period I doubt if he has ever been accused of neglecting a duty, or forgetting an appointment, or committing a mean, unjust, or immoral action, or speaking a false or irreverent, or unkind or insincere word.

"But it would be unfair to describe him only by negatives. His was a positive character, and had great positive traits of excellence. He appears to have obeyed and carried out the two parts of the great commandment, to love God and love man, with unusual earnestness and thoroughness.

"His theological opinions, as to disputed points, were not, I suppose, very clearly defined in his own mind. As far as possible, he avoided taking sides in the great controversy between the liberal and orthodox parties, disclaiming all party names and relations to the last. His views of theology, I am inclined to think, never underwent any material change from his early youth to the day of his death,—none, that is, which he was distinctly conscious of. If he was carried along at all by the progress of opinion around him, he was hardly aware of any change of position in himself. His mind was not of a character to discriminate sharply between shades of doctrinal differences, and, being himself where he always was, he could see no more reason for a division of the Congregational body in 1815 than in 1790. He was strictly conservative in theology. He entertained none of the speculations of the time, accepted no novelties, would give no hearing to those who promised to show a better way of truth than that which he had long walked in. He thought

that the important truths of Christianity were as plain to the spiritual understanding as they were ever likely to be made by human learning, and he did not want any young man to give him his spiritual intuitions as substitutes for the old texts about righteousness and love, grace and peace, joy in the Holy Ghost, and the resurrection of the just to eternal life. His faith grew up with him, and grew old with him, and it seems never to have suffered any distractions or perplexities.

"But the most striking part of Dr. Pierce's character lay in his benevolence. He had the kindliest of natures. His heart seemed a fountain of loving kindness, always gushing up and running over. Time and experience of the world's coldness never checked its stream or dried up a drop of it. What a cordial greeting was his! What a beaming friendliness on his face! I never knew the person who took so hearty an interest in so many people, and showed it by such unequivocal signs. He seemed to know almost everybody and all about him. And it was not an idle curiosity. If it had been, it would have run into scandal, as it usually does in those who make it a business to know and report everybody's affairs. He had no scandal. His love saved him from that. He said pleasant and kind things. There was no venom under his tongue, no acid in his breast. He probably never made an enemy nor lost a friend. His affections were warm, his sympathies were quick. He was generous according to his means. He loved young men. For more than fifty years, without interruption, I have been told, he travelled to Cambridge several times a year to attend the public exercises, and listened to every student with fond eagerness, as to a son of his own, and forever after remembered him, and in most cases knew all about him.

"Age did not blunt these kind feelings or quench

one ray of their youthful vigor. Here he was remarkable. Age did not tend in the least to make him shrink into himself or to narrow the circle of his sympathies. After seventy he would start off with the ardor of a school-boy, and walk miles just to see an old friend, and would live for months after on the pleasure of the interview. And he not only loved other people, but he loved to be loved. He seemed to value nothing in this world so much as kind attention, affection, good fellowship.

"He was welcomed in all pulpits to which he had access, not so much on account of his preaching as on his own account. People liked to see him and hear his voice, especially in singing, because his soul was in it. They liked to see him, he seemed such a personal friend. His bare presence was as acceptable to many, and perhaps as profitable, as the sermons of some much greater men, he was so sincere, so hearty, so kind. A word from him, with his great, cordial, friendly voice, at the church door or in the aisle, would for multitudes make ample amends for any dryness in the regular discourse.

"It is very singular that such warm affection towards both God and man did not impart their unction to his intellect and give a character of rich and glowing sentiment to his composition, but I believe they did not. They did lend animation and force to his delivery, but never gave their fire to his composition. He was not eloquent or poetical or affecting in his writing. Somehow there was a connecting link missing between his heart and his intellect. With feelings fresh and warm and pure enough to have made him a poet, an orator, and a splendid writer, he was not a bit of either. It was a singular instance of disconnection between the two parts of the mind. His great fervent heart is not in his writings. But no matter: he had it, and

everybody knew he had it, and felt the influence of it, was warmed by its radiance and gladdened by its benignity."

The Rev. Frederic H. Hedge, his son-in-law and successor, wrote of him:—

"He seemed to me, at first, though but entering on the fifties (as I now reckon), the impersonation of venerable age,—an impression due to his snow-white hair, which had turned at thirty. Subsequent and nearer observation discovered a fresh though pale complexion, an unwithered look, an elastic carriage, and altogether such an absence of all decrepitude as greatly modified the hasty estimate of his senility.

"'What a pleasant-looking old man!' we youngsters said, accustomed to read in men of that age a judgment on our own immaturity. 'The atrocious crime' found pardon, and not only pardon, but connivance, nay, approval, in those friendly eyes lit up by a heart which could reach its sympathies into our green years.

"His countenance was one of those which are always in full light, and admit no shadow and contract no frown. The word 'pleasant' but faintly expresses its radiant, kindly cheer. A face where no deep sorrow and no strong passions had set their seal. No jollity, or fun, or even humor, was legible there: the light on those features was simply the pure joy of life, a delight in being such as is possible only to holy and believing minds. The world of his experience reflected the sunshine of his own peace, and was full of blessing. He heartily rejoiced in all good gifts with devout gratitude to God for all. He had great pleasure in 'times and seasons,' in college and State holidays with all their belongings, in election and convention sermons, Dudleian lectures, Thursday lectures, ordinations and dedications, all of which he failed not to attend. Above all, an incredible and insatiable pleasure he had in

facts, especially statistical facts relating to the college and the ministry. These he hugged and treasured and chuckled over, as a miser over his gold, but with very unmiserly communicativeness loved to share with all his friends, and was ready to bestow even on the indifferent and unthankful.

"His looks betokened the entire presence of the man in every place and company in which you saw him. There was no introversion, no preoccupation, no wandering but the outward wandering of the eye for a few moments at public meetings, when he set himself to count or compute the numbers present, and to register and classify such as were known to him,—so many ministers, so many older, so many younger, than himself, so many before, so many after him on the college catalogue. Then there were occasional glances, not of impatience, but of curiosity, at the old-fashioned silver watch which he never forgot to set by the clock of the Old South Church every Thursday when he went into town to assist at the weekly lecture in Chauncy Street. With this he timed all public speech, and kept the log of sermons and prayers.

"Soon after my graduation I came into family relations with Dr. Pierce, and was often a guest at his house, where I had abundant opportunity of studying his character as it manifested itself in private life. There, too, the joyfulness which beamed from him in public was a prominent trait. A happier man I never knew, nor certainly one who had a better right to be happy, so far as moral qualities avail to secure that state. The absence of all worldliness, of all solicitude about the future (notwithstanding his large family and small means), of all rivalry and ambition, of all pride of appearance, of all self-seeking; his entire humility, his perfect trust in Divine Providence for that which is least as well as for the greatest, his ready acquiescence

in the Divine will,—all this resulted in a calm of soul not often witnessed in otherwise good and religious men.

"Something, no doubt, of this uniform cheerfulness is to be ascribed to vigorous health. But health has also its moral side, and, if in his case it was partly due to a naturally sound constitution, it was also fairly earned by temperance and by bodily exercise, of which it cannot be said that in this matter it 'profiteth nothing.' This last he carried to what seemed to me a needless excess. At three o'clock A.M., in summer, he was in his garden, where he did a day's work before breakfast. In the winter, long before light, the strokes of his axe resounded from the woodshed, where all the fire-wood was prepared by him for family use. In his visits to the city and to Cambridge, and in his exchanges with neighboring ministers, he oftener walked than rode. By this means he kept his athletic frame—full six feet in height and proportionally broad—at the uttermost mark of manly vigor. Though not what is called 'a heavy feeder,' he brought to his meals the keen relish of perfect health. The food was always of the simplest, but he insisted that he had dined royally, and doubted if her Majesty, the Queen of England, fared so well.

"Intellectually, it always seemed to me that he never did full justice to his powers. His preaching, though acceptable, and marked by accuracy of statement and a diction severely correct, wanted the force which might have been expected from a nature so large and capable. An excessive caution and certain homiletic traditions derived from the standards of his youth—the dryest period in the history of the American pulpit—seemed to hamper the action of his mind in that function. He never poured himself freely forth in his discourses, but found a speedy limit to his thought in

some inward or outward restraint,—some self-distrust or critical bugbear that ruled him. Whatever success he had as a preacher was due to the reverend and loved person rather than his thought or illustration. The best thing he did in the pulpit was his singing. Into that he put his whole heart: it was eminently effective. Those whom the sermon had left cold could not fail to be moved by the fervor and unction of his psalmody.

"He could hardly be called, in the years in which I knew him, a student, although a good theological and miscellaneous scholar after the standard of his own time. He read no Greek but the New Testament, but in that he was thoroughly at home, reading it as fluently as the English version, and using it always in the family devotions. I am not aware of having derived intellectual stimulus from his conversation, although so largely indebted to him for wise counsel and the precious lessons of his life. Our intellectual tendencies were widely dissimilar. I was apt to assume an ideal position: he planted himself firmly upon facts. 'Facts,' he would say triumphantly, after battering me with his statistics, 'are stubborn things,'—a characterization which did not much recommend them in my estimation. He judged all questions statistically, numerically, reasoning in numbers, 'for the numbers came.' He even went so far as to reckon up the texts in the New Testament which seemed to favor the Trinitarian doctrine, on the one hand, and those which tallied with the Unitarian view, on the other. He made out a tie between them, and therewith justified his position of uncompromising neutrality between the two parties,—a position resulting from his natural conservatism. His theology retained to the last the moderate Arian-Arminian type, which had been the prevailing doctrine of his vicinity at the time of his entrance on

the ministry. He steadfastly refused to take the name of Unitarian, though forced in his latter years by orthodox exclusiveness to associate chiefly with the clergy of that communion. Nor was he more ready to embrace the Connecticut doctrine, when in 1826 and 1827 Dr. Lyman Beecher and his associates attempted to reform the theology of Boston. Rationalism, on the one hand, and Calvinism, on the other, were equally distasteful to him. He regarded both as attempts to be 'wise above what was written,'—a species of presumption against which he seriously cautioned his young friends.

"Whatever sectaries might think of his theology, bigotry itself would not deny to him the Christian name, nor venture to impugn his Christian worth. Those who came nearest to him best know with what harmony and completeness the Christian graces combined in his person. Faith, hope, charity, humility, patience, godliness,—it was impossible to say which of these traits was most conspicuous in a life which exhibited them all. What impressed me as much as anything in his character was its unworldliness. It happened to him in advanced years to lose his entire property, the savings of his whole professional life, by a bad investment. This misfortune elicited no complaint, it never for an instant disturbed his serenity. I doubt if it cost him a pang. No allusion to the subject was permitted in the family. I discovered it by accident long after the event. Frugal in the extreme in his personal expenditures, because so simple in his tastes, there was no pinching in his economy, nothing penurious in his habits, nothing contracted in his views. He was open-handed, and gave in proportion to his means as liberally as any I have known. It was remarked that, with all his retentiveness of facts and figures, he never could remember sums of money.

They were the one piece of statistics that did not interest him.

"The good old man had all that should accompany old age, and especially the appropriate 'troop of friends.' Young and old rejoiced in his fellowship. Even little children were attracted by the sunshine of his countenance. In his last sickness the sympathy of a wide community flowed to his door. Men resorted to his house as to a shrine, and none left it without a benediction."

The following is a list of Dr. Pierce's publications: On the Mystery of Godliness, a discourse delivered at Medfield, 1797; A Eulogy on Washington, 1800; A Sermon preached at Newbury at the Installation of the Rev. John Snelling Popkin, 1804; A Discourse delivered at Brookline on the Day that completed a Century from the Incorporation of the Town, 1805; A Valedictory Sermon preached on Leaving the Old Meeting-house at Brookline, and a Dedicatory Sermon on Entering the New House of Worship, 1806; A Sermon preached at the Gathering of the Second Congregational Church in Dorchester, 1808; A Discourse delivered at the Installation of the Rev. Samuel Clarke at Princeton, 1817; A Discourse delivered on the Lord's Day after the completion of a Century from the Organization of the Church in Brookline, 1817; The Dudleian Lecture, delivered before Harvard College, 1821; A Discourse delivered at Canton at the Ordination of the Rev. Benjamin Huntoon, 1822; The Charge delivered to the Rev. T. B. Fox at Newburyport, 1831; A Sermon in the *Liberal Preacher* on the Maternal Relation, 1835; A Sermon entitled "Reminiscences of Forty Years," 1837; An Address delivered at the Funeral of the Hon. Thomas A. Davis, 1845; A Sermon preached at the Brookline Jubilee, 1847; A Sermon entitled "*Christians* the only Proper Name for the Disciples of Christ"; A Sermon delivered before the Legislature of Massachusetts at the Annual Election, 1849.

The sketch above is taken chiefly from Dr. Pierce's manuscript autobiography and Mr. Knapp's funeral sermon, which were also used by Rev. T. B. Fox, who, like Dr. Hedge, was a son-in-law, in preparing the memoir in Ware's Unitarian Biography. See also Dr. A. P. Peabody's Harvard Graduates and Dr. Lyon's History of the Brookline Parish.

PRESERVED SMITH

1759–1834

Preserved Smith was born in Ashfield, Mass., June 25, 1759, the son of a Baptist clergyman and a descendant of the Rev. Henry Smith who came from England and settled in Wethersfield, Conn., in 1641. His early education was limited, but he displayed a thirst for knowledge and read whatever came in his way.

When the Revolutionary War began, he was sixteen years of age, and entering the army, served five campaigns. Leaving the army, at the age of nineteen, he bought his time, as it is called, of his father, and set out in the world for himself. In spite of great obstacles and discouragement he fitted himself for college at his own expense, and entered the Freshman Class of Dartmouth with permission to spend the first year under private instruction. He subsequently connected himself with Brown University, from which he graduated in 1786.

After graduation he began the study of divinity with the Rev. Mr. Emerson, of Conway, Mass. In the spring of 1787 he was appointed by the Hampshire Association, and in November of that year was settled in the ministry at Rowe. In January, 1788, he married Eunice, daughter of Colonel David Wells, of Shelburne.

In those days the town of Rowe was a new settlement, and many of the people lived in log houses. They could pay their pastor but a very small salary, which had to be supplemented by labor on the farm. The early part of his ministry

was much tried by the bigotry and superstition of the people among whom his lot was cast. He established himself, however, in the respect and affection of the people, and continued to live peacefully with them till he decided to sever his relation with them in May, 1804. In the autumn of 1805 he was installed pastor over the first and second parishes in Mendon, Mass., dividing his labors between them. Here he enjoyed and profited by the advantages this residence gave of closer contact with books and men, and here he remained till 1812, when the people of Rowe asked him to return and settle again among them. He did not regret his return, for, though rough and remote, this field was dear to him.

Not long afterward the Unitarian controversy commenced. Mr. Smith was at that time a member of the Franklin Association (orthodox), and held what were known as Arminian views. By a faithful study of the Scriptures he was led about the year 1820 to modify his doctrinal position. Though he respected the Trinitarian dogma, he did not adopt the name Unitarian, preferring that of Christian simply. He now sought dismissal from the ministerial association with which he had been in fellowship, and connected himself with another with whose members he could feel a closer sympathy.

Twenty years passed in his second pastorate in Rowe, during which he faithfully performed his pastoral duties, interested himself in the cause of education, and endeared himself to the people of his town. On August 15, 1834, he passed away at the age of seventy-five.

Mr. Smith left strong traces of his usefulness in his remote and circumscribed field. He was not a lover of controversy, but one who by love of birth and freedom, by strong independence and individ-

ualism, impressed himself and his thought upon the community.

Rev. Dr. Willard wrote of him:—

"One of the strongest features in Mr. Smith's character was the love of truth. So strong was it that he seemed instinctively to revolt from anything like hypocrisy or cant. . . . In his mental and moral craving he seemed to have a remarkable tact in distinguishing reality from mere show,—a ready insight into character, which gave him great advantage for accommodating himself to the different characters with whom he met."

The account of Mr. Smith is taken from "A Biographical Sketch of Rev. Preserved Smith," published at Greenfield, Mass., 1852.

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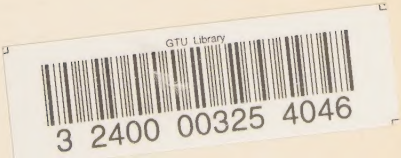
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